CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JUNE 4, 1990 $2.25

Maclean's

AMERICA WELCOMES GORBACHEV

THE CONSTITUTION DEBATE

DEADLINE

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney And The Premiers Decide Canada's Future



The Prime Minister Outside 24 Sussex Drive Last Week

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JUNE 4, 1990 VOL 103 NO 23

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COVER

A LOOMING DEADLINE

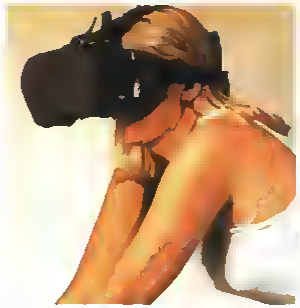
As Canadians from coast to coast began focusing more closely on the threat to their nation, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the premiers worked against time to break the constitutional deadlock. For a haggard, visibly aging Mulroney, those problems were compounded by the stunning political defection of his close friend and environment minister, Lucien Bouchard — 16

SPECIAL REPORT

IN FROM THE COLD WAR

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and President George Bush meet in Washington this week amid dramatically changing superpower relations. Already, their military forces are facing major reductions and re-evaluations, and their people are increasingly finding common ground. — 34





TECHNOLOGY

RE-CREATING REALITY

Scientists are perfecting a technology that lets computers create three-dimensional images of everything from molecules to planetary surfaces. And the potential is tantalizing: people can enter the so-called virtual realities, manipulate their contents—and experience the sensation of participation. — 56

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A Time For Cool Heads

When Brian Mulroney became Prime Minister in 1984, his political philosophy, according to those close to him, was to bring as many rivals as possible "inside the tent." In fact, he had already begun doing that immediately after wresting the leadership from Joe Clark in 1983 by moving to bring Clark's supporters on side. He also managed to build a Quebec base around nationalists who were willing to be part of his approach to co-operative federalism. Then, in his early meetings with the premiers, he quickly won their support, too, for a wide range of initiatives that eventually included the Meech Lake accord. But Ottawa lapsed into silence after the premiers signed the agreement. The initiative passed to other hands and, as governments changed in three of the provinces, they promptly withdrew their support. Now, as the June 23 deadline for all legislatures to pass the agreement approaches, the debate raging through the country has become destructive and intractable. So bitter has the argument become, and so charged is the atmosphere between Quebec and English Canada, that, if a settlement is not clearly in sight by the end of this week, Mulroney should call a time-out.



MIKE PINDER

Cover writers E. Kaye Fulton, Paul Kaihla, Bruce Wallace, Anthony Wilson-Smith. time-out

The resignation of the Prime Minister's close friend and environment minister, Lucien Bouchard, last week made the Meech discussions even more emotional. And, whatever Bouchard's motives—one senior member of Mulroney's staff described him as a man "who sees himself as a reborn René Lévesque, with more hair and better looks"—he has painted the Prime Minister into a tight corner. Mulroney has lost whatever flexibility he had to make concessions related to Quebec because Bouchard and his allies will damn any change as a sellout. If there is not a dramatic breakthrough this week, there is nothing to prevent the Prime Minister and the premiers from abandoning the current round, letting passions cool and resuming the process when the time is right. It would be a messy process. But the alternatives are a lot worse.

Kevin Doyle

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LETTERS

PROJECT'S OPPONENTS UNITED

Your cover articles on the James Bay project leave the impression that opposition to the proposed dams comes only from the Cree and U.S. environmental groups ("Power to burn," May 21). Every major Canadian environmental organization opposes further hydroelectric development in Quebec's north. Canadians—English and French, native and non-native—are banding together to stop James Bay II. We do not have to look to the Amazon for environmental atrocities. Given our current crisis on other fronts, environmentalists are setting a good example for the rest of the country.

Elizabeth May,
Ottawa

PRESS'S LOSS, NATURE'S GAIN

It seems a lack of advertising revenue is causing what conscience could not ("Losses for words," Business, May 14). Environmentalists have been pushing for the reduction of printed media, the biggest contributor to our depleted landfill sites. Does press row believe that we can overlook its hypocrisy in demanding environmental responsibility while its owo greed goes unchecked? Perhaps this economic downturn will make publishers put their money where their mouths are.

G. James,
Moose Jaw, Sask.

TECHNICALITIES AT NATO

What I found disturbing in "NATO at the crossroads" (World, May 21), about the debate over deployment of tactical air-to-surface missiles, was the comment from Canada's Defence Minister William McKnight, who stated, "I don't know the technicalities." Is it mere coincidence that the media select politically belittling statements to report? If this is not so, does anybody in the federal cabinet really know what is going on?

Paul Keogh,
Ottawa

CAPITAL OFFENCE

Allan Fotheringham should be ashamed. "Washington is arguably the most beautiful capital in the world" ("On a clear day you can see walls," Column, May 14). Quebec City is the most beautiful capital in the world, because it is the best possible example of the beauty of the duality of Canada.

Donald Smith,
Ste-Foy, Que.

Foth must have seen Washington on a Chambec of Commerce-conducted tour. Outside of the "tourist attractions" and a short distance from Capitol Hill, the city of Washington has some of the worst slums in the United States.

Charles Holman,
Bobcaygeon, Ont.



CHRIS SCHWARZ, MAGNUM/3-5

Dynamiting at James Bay: 'atrocities'

Fotheringham's negative attitude towards our country is, as he feels about Toronto's pride in the SkyDome, "rather nauseating." Where is your sense of patriotism, Fotheringham?

Bobbi-Lynn Vermette,
Mississauga, Ont.

Maybe Fotheringham is waiting for some of us women to defuzzify the complexities of equality in the 1990s for him. If "stenographers have been known to lose their pantyhose" at Toronto's King and Bay streets due to the wind-tunnel effect (the female boardroom types must, for some unexplained reason, have kept theirs on), what have men lost in the process? I would love to know.

Danielle Finné-MacDonnell,
Ottawa

TRASHING A CHURCH?

In "Trouble in paradise," you do not have a good word to say about Elizabeth Clare Prophet or Church Universal and Triumphant (World, May 7). Was it your purpose to use the power of the press to trash a church?

Murray Steinman,
Church Universal and Triumphant,
Corwin Springs, Mont.

PASSAGES



DIED: **Val Orlikow**, 73, the unwitting victim of CIA and Canadian government-sponsored brainwashing experiments between 1957 and 1962 at the Allan Memorial Institute in Montreal, of cancer, at a Winnipeg hospital. Orlikow said that she thought the experiments, including drug-induced sleep and electroshock, were part of her prescribed treatment at the psychiatric hospital. She added that they left her unable to concentrate or read. A $9-million lawsuit launched by Orlikow and eight others against the CIA led to a $907,500 out-of-court settlement in 1988. Orlikow's husband, **David**, was an NDP Winnipeg MP from 1962 until his defeat in the 1988 federal election.

DIED: Former world middleweight boxing champion **Rocky Graziano**, 71, whose classic come-from-behind bouts inspired the 1956 movie *Somebody Up There Likes Me*, starring **Paul Newman**, of lung and heart failure in a New York City hospital. Born Thomas Rocco Barbella, Graziano went from juvenile brushes with the law to a 13-year boxing career, including an 11-month reign as champion in 1947-1948.

RESIGNING: Violinist **Andrew Dawes**, 50, from the Orford String Quartet, the internationally acclaimed Toronto-based classical music ensemble that he helped found in 1965, effective in September, 1991, to teach and to undertake solo performances. The quartet's principal violinist has played with the group in more than 1,500 concerts around the world.

DIED: Revolutionary women's tennis-wear designer **Teddy Tinling**, 79, of respiratory complications, in hospital in Cambridge, England. Tinling jolted the tennis establishment in 1949 with the lace-trimmed panties he designed for U.S. player **Gussie Moran**. Later, he designed colorful and revealing outfits for **Billie Jean King**, **Maria Bueno** and **Chris Evert**.

DIED: Dancer and choreographer **Juan Antonio**, 45, of an AIDS-related illness, in a Toronto hospital. The Mexican-born co-founder of New York City's Louis Falco Dance Company, Antonio also worked with such American dancers as **Robert Joffrey** and **Alvin Ailey**. He founded the Conti-Danse modern-dance company, which closed earlier this year, in Toronto in 1984.

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LETTERS

GIVING AIDS 'A HUMAN FACE'

I was disappointed and angered at "Humanizing AIDS" (Health, May 7) as, only six weeks earlier, James St. James died and you did not run an obituary. St. James was not unknown. A founding member of People With AIDS, he undertook many speaking tours and appeared on numerous TV spots. It is discouraging that Canada's newsmagazine runs an article about someone with AIDS in San Francisco, but does not run anything about the death of a man who gave AIDS a human face in Canada.

Shirley Forsyth,
Hamilton

THE GOVERNOR'S WISDOM

The governor of the Bank of Canada's policies ("The governor's gamble," Cover, May 7) have thrown half a million people out of work, caused businesses and farmers to go bankrupt and made it impossible for many to buy homes, cars or anything else. The one thing they have not done is restrain inflation.

Laurence Mannell,
Grand Bend, Ont.

"The governor's gamble" shows the folly of trying to cure one mistake with another. But that wisdom has not yet filtered through to Michael Wilson and John Crow.

Alton Dahlstrom,
Rossland, B.C.

The Bank of Canada has a duty to maintain an optimum value on the Canadian dollar. It has recently been held high by increasing interest rates so that foreign indebtedness can be reduced and internal brakes on borrowing can be applied. Come election time, to please Canadians over foreign creditors, interest rates will drop and consumerism gain another inning.

Brian Thrippleton,
Oakville, Ont.

There is no merit in the argument that high interest rates lower prices, except insofar as they contrive to impoverish borrowers and precipitate distress selling. High interest rates also contribute indirectly to inflation by transferring wealth from productive hands to those of passive lenders, notably the banks. Other forces contributing to inflation are potentially beneficial, especially in reducing the real burden of the national debt, which, under the present policy, will soon prove intolerable.

Ian Macdonald,
Ottawa

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean Hunter Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7



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LETTERS

THE CHOICE *NOT* TO BUY

With the environment becoming such a pressing issue, more consumers are thinking twice before they purchase products ("The cost of going green," Cover, April 30). But what is most important for the average consumer, like myself, is education. Deciding to buy an environmentally safe product is not always best because, as stated in the article, " 'Overconsumption got us into this mess. Switching brands is not going to solve it.' " I congratulate your magazine for helping to keep your readers educated on the environment.

Claudine Coleman,
St. Albert, Alta.

The single, main threat facing the health of our planet has been buried in the rush to jump on the Earth Day bandwagon. It is overpopulation. The world will not support 11 billion people in the next 60 years, even if we all switch to reusable shopping bags and cloth diapers. Canadian politicians, who rely on economic projections to justify artificially increasing Canada's population, are supporting an irresponsible policy. Our quality of life can be maintained without population growth.

William Bassett,
Victoria

To overuse the environment is to bear the costs of waste disposal in a disorganized and inequitable manner. So, to ask "Who will pay the billions for cleaning up the planet?" is the wrong question. We have in a very real sense already borne these costs. The question now is, how do we stop those who are winning from pollution? For with pollution, as with anything that redistributes income, there are winners and losers.

Charles Waddell,
Fredericton

LOGIC AND WIT

Glad to see Marni Jackson writing again for *Maclean's* ("Gender cold war," Books, April 9). She has a rare ability to combine logic with style and wit.

Roger Taguchi,
Ottawa

'IRRELEVANT INFORMATION'

Why do you insist on mentioning irrelevant information about women's clothes, as in the story about Alice Munro ("Merciful light," Books, May 7)? It reminds me of when I lived in Clinton, Ont., in the olden days, when the social column of the *Clinton News-Record* would have noted, "Mrs. Gerald Fremlin received reporters dressed in a smart pink outfit." Apart from that, I loved the review of my favorite author's latest book.

Judith Brown,
Longueuil, Que.

BIGOTRY AND BLACKS

Your story "Bigotry's new face" (Cover, April 16) is merely an old face with a new mask. Although we, as Canadians, believe in the "true north, strong and free," how free is Canada to Jews and visible minorities? I wonder how many Jews actually believe that racism for them has ever ceased? And why doesn't *Maclean's* write more about prominent blacks?

Paula R. Thompson,
Toronto

A JUDGE'S PERSPECTIVE

Judge Barbara Reed ruled that it would be "inappropriate" to stop low-level jet training flights over Labrador because it would result in "extensive prejudice and harm to the civilian communities . . . as well as to the military personnel" ("Cash, land and power," Canada, April 23). What about the prejudice and harm done to the Innu and the wildlife popula-

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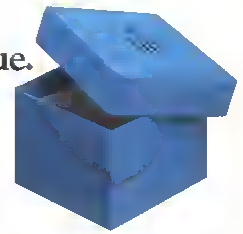
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LETTERS

tion? Has Reed experienced the testing procedure to know firsthand the effect at present and the potential impact for the future?

S. R. Freeman,
Toronto

THE LIBERAL SOLUTION

Peter C. Newman is full of veiled praise for the Liberal party in his April 23 Business Watch column ("Sparing a thought for fairness"). He attacks the government's concern over the national debt and he talks of Senator Jack Austin wanting to "limit massive federal intervention in the economy." How does he expect the government to finance all these social programs without the revenue? No problem. Just do what the Liberals did the last time they were in power: plunge the country into greater national debt.

Raymond Cotter,
Guelph, Ont.

'ALONE, BUT NOT LONELY'

You apparently have sifted some evidence and have declared British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to be a "Lonely lady" (Cover, May 14). I do not believe it for a moment. Thatcher delights in being alone on her pilgrimage to her political zenith. Alone perhaps, but not lonely. She, very likely, gets along with and greatly admires herself when alone with her thoughts. Would the term isolationist not be a far more appropriate title?

Alan Riches,
Halifax

ALTERING STRATEGIES

As "A war on drunk driving," about the crackdown in Prince Edward Island, points out, there is still a long way to go in the struggle (Justice, April 9). Education at a very early age is one way to help combat the problem. We do not need a government that cuts education dollars and yet funds other senseless projects.

Kris Todd,
Belmont, N.S.

SCHOOLYARD RIGHTS

I can hear the jackboots coming now ("A schoolyard battle," Canada, April 30). The intent to legislate the language that children speak while playing has got to be the most fascist statement I have heard in my life. If this proposal were raised in any other country, it would be correctly described as a dangerous limitation of human rights.

Brian D. Batchelor,
Cambridge, Ont.



"Bonn introduces speed limit of 50 km/h on Autobahn."

"Hofbräuhaus turned into a wine garden."

"Becker gives up tennis and takes up bowling."

"Ludwig castle converted into fast food restaurant."

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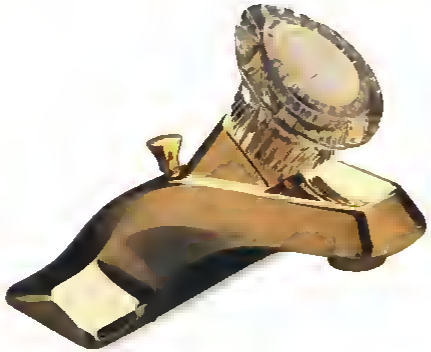
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OPENING NOTES

Mikhail Gorbachev boosts vodka sales, a royal review of some borrowed kilts, and a U.S. headache develops in Liberia

KILTS OUT OF KILTER

Calgary's two local militia regiments, the King's Own Calgary Regiment and the Calgary Highlanders, will have the honor of marching past Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II when she pays a visit to Alberta from June 27 to June 30. But when organizers got around to counting heads recently, they discovered that the two units combined were 200 men short of the number required for the march-past ceremony. A hastily organized recruitment campaign followed, and 300 candidates promptly applied for the guard of honor. The lucky men who are selected will earn a princely $3,900 and will have a chance to serve the Queen. Now, representatives of the Highlanders and the King's Own have issued appeals to veterans of the regiments, asking them to donate any used kilts, sporrans and other pieces of traditional Highland dress that are needed to outfit the troops for the ceremonial parade. Taking the Queen's shilling can be a profitable proposition, even if the uniforms are a little worn at the seams.

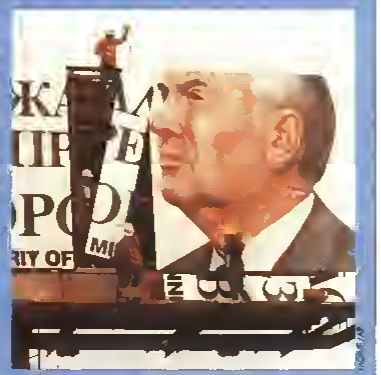


PETER MIKSS/ MACLEAN'S

Queen Elizabeth: 300 applicants for a colorful job

A vodka toast to warmer relations

In step with warming superpower relations, vodka sales in the United States are expected to rise when Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush meet this week. According to David Pursglove, a Washington-based expert on American wine-and-spirits consumption, "Vodka's popularity rises and falls on relations with the Soviets." Pursglove's research has shown that many U.S. citizens so thoroughly identify vodka as a Soviet drink that they will not buy it when superpower relations cool. While Pursglove is predicting an increase in sales of vodka, a Minnesota liquor wholesaler has promised to remove 38 billboard ads before the Soviet leader visits Minneapolis on June 3 as they show Gorbachev apparently endorsing locally made vodka. Said firm president Mitchell Johnson: "We feel it is our part to welcome him respectfully." Cheers.



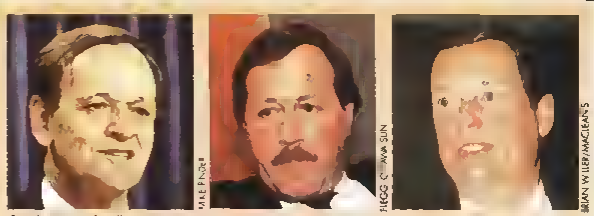
Gorbachev: his likeness endorses U.S.-made vodka

TO POWER FROM PRISON

Charles Taylor has been a wanted man since 1985, when the onetime official in the Liberian government escaped from an American jail. U.S. officials had detained Taylor after Liberian President Samuel Doe accused his former colleague of embezzling $1.2 million from that country's treasury. But Taylor has resurfaced in Liberia as the leader of a rebel force that is poised to seize power. If he succeeds, Washington will have to consider two things: recognizing the new regime—and dropping the charges against its leader.

A welcome mat for an ex-Nazi

Arthur Rudolph, 84, designed the Saturn V rocket that sent America to the moon. But, in 1984, the U.S. government said that the ex-Nazi had been involved in war crimes. No charges were laid, but Randolph moved to Hamburg. Now, Ohio congressman James Traficant Jr. says that Rudolph is innocent. He is raising money for Rudolph's defence and has asked him to return to the United States and face his accusers. But he added, "If I thought Rudolph was a war criminal, I would pull the switch myself." That left the space scientist to question whether to boldly go where the man had gone before.



MIKE FINDLAY / HEGG © OTTAWA SUN / BRIAN WILLER/MACLEAN'S

Chrétien (left); Durrell, Roberts: hard work, experience and past favors

GOOD FOR REDEMPTION IN CALGARY

James Durrell offers some impressive credentials to support his candidacy for the presidency of the federal Liberal party. At 43, Durrell has 4½ years of administrative experience as the mayor of Ottawa, as well as the reputation of being a good fund raiser—a skill much in demand in the financially troubled party. According to key Liberal officials, those qualifications, coupled with hard campaigning to produce declarations of support from half of the 82-member Liberal caucus, have propelled Durrell to a close lead over rival John Roberts—until two weeks ago, that is. Now, the officials say that Roberts, 56, who held several posts in Pierre Trudeau's cabinets, is likely to win the party convention in Calgary this month. Leader-in-waiting Jean Chrétien has quietly endorsed Roberts's candidacy. The reason for that shift, during the 1984 leadership campaign, Roberts, who was also a candidate, eventually endorsed Chrétien's failed bid for the top job that year. Old political debts are valuable currency in any leadership race.

A SLIGHT CASE OF MISTAKEN IDENTITY

To North America's alternate press, the *Utne Reader* awards are the equivalent of Hollywood's Oscars. As a result, *Metropolis* publisher Richard Rotman puffed with pride recently when he announced that his Toronto-based magazine was a semifinalist in the *Reader's* design category. But *Now*, another Toronto weekly tabloid, quieted its archrival's boasting. *Now* representative Paul Stuart said that, when he phoned *Reader* officials in Minneapolis, he learned that the real entrant was a New York City-based architecture magazine, also named *Metropolis*. Said Rotman, who printed a retraction earlier this month: "It was an honest mistake." And, as *Now* gleefully noted, an embarrassing one.



ANDRZEJ KOZIARA

The winner is... nobody

It took three days for photographer Brian Milne to drive from Erickson, Man., to attend the National Magazine Awards dinner in Toronto. He and five other Canadian photographers had been named finalists in the location-photography category. But they were amazed to find that a winner had not been chosen because, the judges said, none of the entries was good enough. The photographers claimed that they had suffered public humiliation, and complained in writing. Steven Behal, one of the nominees, wrote, "The action of the judges ... not performing their function was childishly arrogant and self-indulgent." The foundation apologized, promising to take steps to ensure that future contests produce a victor. Still, Behal said that the judges should pick a winner this year. He added, "There's been damage done, and the damage has to be rectified."

Behal: the humiliation was public

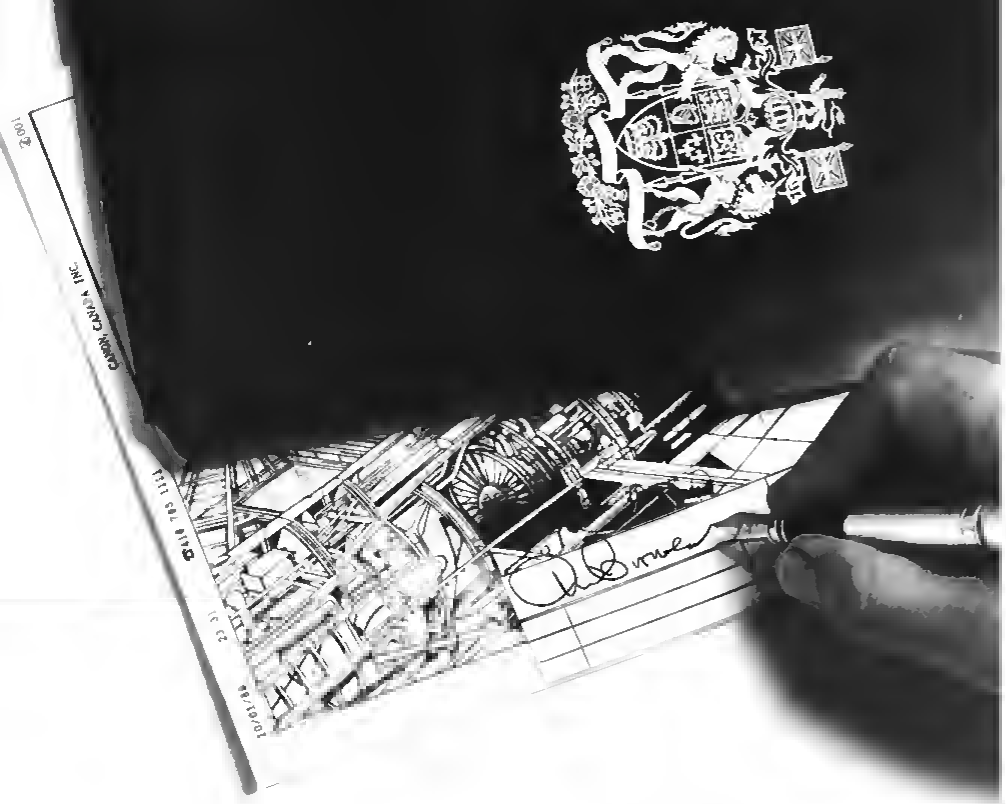
Furs and free trade

Canada is about to add a new item to its list of exportable natural resources: wolves. That is because Congress is considering a bill to import Canadian wolves to Yellowstone National Park, where an official trapping program killed off the wolves during the 1920s. A U.S. biologist is now in Alberta trying to locate 15 breeding pairs of wolves for resettlement in the park. If he is successful, it will put some real teeth into the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.



LESLIE PRESTT/ LIGHT

Grey wolves: export items



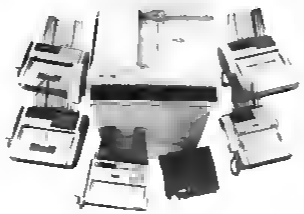
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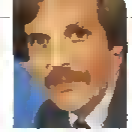
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The calm before the summer storm

BY CHARLES GORDON

It was a cloudy, chilly day in a Group of Seven kind of landscape when the realization of what it means to be a Canadian struck again. Some people were sweeping out a cabin by the shoreline. They heard a noise, looked up and saw a boat go by, one of those inboard-outboard jobs so popular in cottage country. Its driver was wearing a red tuque.

You can't get much more Canadian than that—desperate for the out-of-doors anxious to get the summer going yet dressed properly for the cold.

In Central Canada the long weekend was like that. Not the hot long weekend of which beer commercials sing, but a chilly, rainy, windy one, in which each appearance of the sun is greeted by small cheers from those few gathered under it.

Strangely enough, not everyone is distressed by bad weather. Some like the privacy of it, the absence of fair-weather friends. In the good weather, everybody heads for the lake. On a chilly weekend in May, only true cottage people and true campers do. There are no triflers. Those who truly love the lake, no matter what the weather, have it more or less to themselves.

Later, when the hot weather hits, it will be different. Within range of the large cities, all manner and variety of Canadians will swarm to every available body of water, bringing their beer, their music, their noisy toys. This year, as in other years, the tension will grow—between those who want to escape the racket and excitement of the city and those who want to bring it with them. It will be worse this year, because there will be more of us at the lake, on the water, on the highways leading to it.

And this year more and more people will come to the conclusion that a great Canadian experience—going to the cottage, going to the lake—is threatened.

On a chilly weekend in May, the cottage people who truly love the lake, no matter what the weather, have it more or less to themselves

that left to our own devices, we will ruin it.

The problem is not just that there are more of us. The problem is also that each of us takes up so much room. Much more than we used to. Technology has given us the ability to travel faster and farther and to make more noise. One person, with a chain saw, a portable tape deck and a powerful boat, can be a greater nuisance than a dozen people could be 50, or even 20, years ago. Newer, faster and louder inventions join us every year—the Jet Ski being a recent and particularly hideous example—and still more are on the horizon.

Unmindful of the harm they are inflicting upon the summer environment, the manufacturers and vendors of such machines hawk their wares on television, joining the brewers, who—shrieking "it's the way we play"—dream of making Canada an outdoor pub. Magazine ads preach speed and power. Speed, power, noise and the people who bring them to the lake are doing as much damage as mosquitoes, blackflies and even acid rain. We worry about acid rain, we seek laws to eliminate it, but we are not doing much to control the threats that summer people bring to the lake each summer.

There are laws, of course, but the laws have been outdistanced by the technology. Boaters are familiar with, and scoff at, those "9 km/h" signs. They wonder how the authorities came up with nine, and they complain, with some justification, that their boats, doing nine kilometres per hour, burn more gasoline and churn up more wake than they would at higher speeds. There are laws against speeding and impaired boating, of course, but there are far fewer police boats than lakes.

The police will never abolish the problem, found on almost every settled lake, of the boats with million-horsepower engines that sound like jet planes, each generating pleasure for those who own them, and pain for those who don't. Only legislation can do it, strict licensing requirements enacted by governments with the courage to bite the bullet, risk the wrath of boaters and begin deciding what types of engines, and with what decibel levels, may or may not be allowed in particular areas.

Without such action, the marketplace will continue to produce new ecological horrors and Canadians will continue to purchase them and put them on the water. Without some intervention by government, the noise levels will rise, and so will the population density and probably the blood alcohol level too.

Overcrowding and noise are not the only threats to our summer way of life. Elitism and inflation can be a deadly combination too, leading to a situation in which the lake becomes the playpen of the privileged few. We have seen what happens in large cities when the real estate market overheats. The same thing is already happening in cottage country, with prices rising so high that soon only the very rich will be able to afford a small piece of lakefront. Just as the poor have been driven out of the urban downtown, the non-wealthy could be excluded from the summer life to which they thought, as Canadians, they were entitled. Controlling the noise and the pollution will be of little use if we cannot control the speculators as well.

The trick, on the one hand, is to make sure that all Canadians can have access to the summer landscape. Already there is tension—evident in the wars between the cottagers and the house boaters—between those fortunate enough to be established on the lake and those who come later.

The trick, on the other hand, is not to allow it to turn into a watery replica of an amusement park. It won't be easy. Perhaps appeals to reason will help: an education program aimed at teaching Canadians to enjoy and preserve the outdoors at the same time, a not-too-gentle reminder to advertisers that they should consider the social and environmental consequences of the sales pitches they make.

If reason doesn't work, the law will have to move in—to curb speculation, reduce speed and noise. Too bad: the thought of the state having business in the cottages of the nation is not pleasant. But inaction has brought us to where we are today, with an essential, living part of our heritage threatened. We should, all of us, be able to enjoy our lakes and not have them reduced to memories, their best days visible only in museums along with the Group of Sevens.

Charles Gordon is a columnist with The Ottawa Citizen



Native women in Fort Simpson, N.W.T., no longer immune to the social and medical afflictions of the populous south

CANADA

NORTHERN AGONY

CHANGE LEAVES CANADA'S ARCTIC GRAPPLING WITH AN ALARMING ARRAY OF TRAGIC SOCIAL ILLS

The statistic itself is stark. Inuit in Canada's vast, sparsely populated and still largely pristine northern territories are more than four times as likely as other Canadians to kill themselves. For Caroline Anawak, the wife of Liberal MP Jack Anawak and a mother of eight who lives in Rankin Inlet, an Inuit community of 1,600 on Hudson Bay's western shore, the figure represents an intensely personal tragedy. Two of her husband's brothers, as well as a nephew, have killed themselves. And last week, reporting on a yearlong study into the effects of 17 suicides in her region, Anawak described the acts as expressions of a pervasive despair. In the North, she said, "nobody is left untouched" by self-inflicted death. Suicide, however, is merely one element in a spreading social deterioration that also includes rampant alcoholism, child sexual abuse, venereal disease and inner-family violence.

Indeed, there is little question that, after a generation of wrenching change and cultural upheaval, northerners are facing a health crisis of alarming dimensions. The depth of the crisis became apparent last week, as 700 international experts on the subject gathered in Whitehorse, Y.T. And the scientists, government officials and native representatives from eight Nordic nations—Canada, the United States, the Soviet Union, Greenland, Iceland, Norway, Finland and Sweden—who met in the Yukon capital reported a staggering array of problems. In addition to such long-standing concerns as tuberculosis and depression, speakers identified new threats such as AIDS and pollutants like PCBs and pesticides that are showing up in the Arctic for the first time. Declared Vancouver lawyer Thomas Berger, who led a royal commission into a proposed Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline in the mid-1970s: "No one who travels in the Arctic can be unaware of the pathologies that disfigure northern life."

Clearly, the North is no longer immune to the social and medical afflictions that have long plagued more populous southern centres. While suicides are most common among the Inuit, other northern groups are also affected. Among the Dene, suicide rates are about twice the national average of 14 per 100,000 people, while the rate for whites, Métis and other northerners is 20 per 100,000. One report compiled last year by the N.W.T. government showed that over half of the 172 suicides in the territory between 1978 and 1988 were by people between 15 and 24. That revelation led N.W.T. Education Minister Stephen Kakfwi, a former president of the Dene Nation, to ask, "Are we disintegrating culturally as a people?"

Still another study underscored Kakfwi's concern. Conducted by the N.W.T. Native Women's Association, it examined the extent of child sexual abuse in six mainly native communities, through interviews with local leaders, social service officials and sexual abuse victims and offenders. Defining sexual abuse as "any inappropriate sexual behavior" towards children—ranging from lewd remarks to outright sexual assault—the report estimated that eight out of 10 native girls under the age of eight had been sexually victimized. About half the boys of the same age had also been sexually molested. Those results came as no surprise to Native Women's Association executive director Alice Hill, herself a victim of sexual abuse as a child. Declared Hill: "I've lived in the North all my life, and I could count on one hand the number of native women I know who were not sexually abused as children."

The most recent threat is AIDS. Although only 10 N.W.T. residents, out of a population of 52,000, have tested positive for the HIV virus over the past three years, concern that the disease might spread rapidly is prompted by what territorial AIDS educator Kathleen Davidson calls the "appalling" rates of other sexually transmitted diseases in the region. In one indication that many northerners fail to practise protected sex, she noted, the confirmed rate of gonorrhea in the N.W.T. is 25 times the national average. In response, the N.W.T. government has been attacking the AIDS threat through blunt messages in newspapers and on radio and television. Read one newspaper ad: "Drunk, horny and a perfect candidate for AIDS. Always use latex condoms with spermicide."

The two territories also lead the country in the incidence of violent crime. According to Statistics Canada, the Northwest Territories recorded 4,451 offences per 100,000 people in 1988, while the Yukon had 2,901. The national average for that year was 898. And RCMP officers in the North say that up to 90 per cent of the criminal offences they encounter are alcohol-related.

But John Sperry, bishop of the Anglican diocese of the Arctic, for one, says that alcoholism is only another symptom of the profound dislocations endured by northern natives as they adapt to an increasingly southern-influenced lifestyle. Sperry recalls that when he first moved north 40 years ago, his mostly Inuit parishioners still lived in igloos and skin tents and eked out a bare existence as hunters and trappers. While conditions were harsh, the Inuit had compensating strengths, he said: food was readily shared, traditional skills were passed on from parents to children and alcohol abuse was rare.

By contrast, said Sperry, many native parents have now resigned themselves to living on government welfare. And the young Inuit, who are now exposed to such influences as heavy metal music and sex videos, are losing their native languages and hunting skills. Even those who do wish to pursue a traditional lifestyle, Sperry noted, find that the campaigns of southern based animal rights activists have largely closed off the market for furs and sealskins. At the same time, high illiteracy and school dropout rates among young natives limit their chances for gainful employment. Said Sperry: "It is a very difficult time for those who remember the past and see what is happening to people and to society."

There were some signs last week that northern governments are prepared to tackle at least some of these issues. Tory MP Stanley Wilbee, who was in Whitehorse representing Health Minister Perrin Beatty, announced that the Soviet Union and Canada had reached a draft agreement to study the effects of toxic contaminants that are appearing in disturbingly high concentrations in the Arctic. Borne by air currents from industrial centres—including some in the Soviet Union—the toxins work their way through the food chain into the flesh of marine mammals that form a large part of native diets. Wilbee also announced a $140,000 grant to establish a Canada-wide research network on northern health issues.

But Judy Gingell, chairman of the Council of Yukon Indians, said that only greater economic independence is likely to produce a lasting decline in the North's social evils. And for many in the region, a measure of that independence may at last be on the horizon. The Yukon Indians, for one, reached a land claim agreement with Ottawa on April 1 that included ownership of 16,576 square miles of land and $232 million in cash. Similar massive land claims settlements are being finalized with the Dene and Inuit of the Northwest Territories. With those resources at their disposal, said Gingell, native people will finally be able to decide their own future—one that they hope will be brighter than their present.

Sperry: stark changes



ASTRID KRUSE

BRIAN BERGMAN *with* *JOHN DUNN in Whitehorse*

National Notes

UPHOLDING A TREATY

The Supreme Court of Canada ruled that a 230-year-old treaty signed by a British commander and Huron Indians in Quebec three days before French Canada fell to the British in 1760 is still valid. The treaty, giving the Indians freedom to practise their customs, had been invoked by two Quebec City Hurons who were appealing their 1982 conviction for cutting wood in a Quebec provincial park. They argued that the treaty gave them the right to cut wood to build a sweat lodge—a hut used in a purification rite.

NATO SCRAPS ITS PLAN

NATO announced that it was scrapping plans to build a $500-million low-level flight training centre. Canadian officials had lobbied to have the centre built in Goose Bay, Labrador, in spite of protests by local native groups who claim that low-level flights disrupt wildlife.

TRUCKERS' PROTEST

After receiving a promise of aid from federal Transport Minister Douglas Lewis, Canadian truck drivers ended a three-day-old blockade of U.S.-Canada border crossings in Ontario and Quebec. The action of the truckers, who say that they face unfair competition from U.S. drivers, forced auto plants in the two provinces to shut down and send thousands of workers home because of a lack of parts.

AMENDMENTS DEFEATED

In the House of Commons, MPs defeated 11 proposed amendments that would have made the government's new abortion legislation more restrictive. They also voted down an NDP amendment that would have removed abortion from the Criminal Code. A final vote on the abortion bill, which would allow the procedure if a doctor judges that a woman's physical, mental or psychological health is threatened, was to be held this week.

AGAINST THE GST

According to a poll done by Toronto-based Gallup Canada Inc., 68 per cent of Canadians say that the Liberal-dominated Senate should reject the Conservative government's proposed Goods and Services Tax.

PULP MILL APPROVAL

The Alberta government issued licences enabling Daishowa Canada Co. Ltd. to begin operating its controversial Peace River pulp mill this summer. Environmental groups are fighting in Federal Court to force Ottawa to conduct a full-scale public review of the project.

DEADLINE

ABANDONED BY HIS CLOSE FRIEND, BRIAN MULRONEY STRUGGLES TO SAVE A DEEPLY DIVIDED NATION

One by one, Canada's premiers arrived at 24 Sussex Drive, their sombre expressions reflecting a crisis that was suddenly palpable. Summoned to Ottawa for individual meetings with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, their separate visits to his residence over the space of four days created the impression that what was at stake was not only a constitution, but a country. As Canadians from coast to coast began focusing more closely on the looming threat to their nation, Mulroney and the premiers worked against time and their sometimes bitter differences to attempt a compromise. For a haggard, visibly aging Mulroney, those problems were compounded by the personal agony caused by the stunning political defection of his close friend and environment minister, Lucien Bouchard. And for all the leaders, there was the underlying worry expressed by Alberta Premier Donald Getty, after his Thursday evening meeting with the Prime Minister. Declared Getty, in a voice shaking with emotion: "We are capable of blowing something as precious as our country."

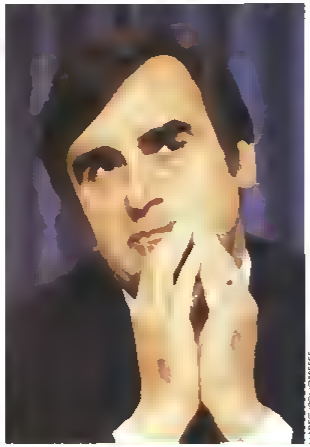
That was a reality, it seemed, that many of the country's leaders had previously been unwilling to confront. But Mulroney's hasty request for one-on-one sessions with the premiers—a move that he decided on in less than a day—underlined the urgency of the situation. The alarm was also evident on the financial markets: within 48 hours of Bouchard's resignation from the cabinet and from the Conservative caucus, the Canadian dollar had lost more than a quarter of a cent, and the following day, the Bank of Canada rate rose by a quarter point (page 22). Mulroney said the rise was "due in part to political instability." Financial analysts agreed.

And with the June 23 deadline for Meech Lake's ratification less than a month away, and Manitoba and Newfoundland threatening to hold additional public hearings before ratifying the accord, the margin for further manoeuvring became painfully tight. The impending deadline also raised tensions between the premiers to a new high. Ontario Premier David Peterson, for one, publicly urged dissenters Clyde Wells of Newfoundland, Gary Filmon of Manitoba and New Brunswick's Frank McKenna to ratify the accord. Said Peterson impatiently: "This is not a debating society."

Bombshell: But the most dramatic demonstration of the differences that the debate has uncovered among the country's leaders was the bombshell resignation of Bouchard on May 21. In explaining his decision, Bouchard cited a loss of faith in the government's handling of the crisis. In particular, he could not accept additions to the accord recommended on May 17 by a committee of the House of Commons chaired by Tory MP Jean Charest. Bouchard's resignation was a stunning blow to a friendship of 30 years' standing (page 24). And it sharply altered the tone of the debate.

Bouchard compounded his repudiation of the government's course by immediately embracing sovereignty-association as his preferred option for Quebec. Together, the two gestures drove a deep wedge into the coalition of traditional western Tories and francophone Quebec nationalists that Mulroney has nurtured assiduously since winning his party's leadership in 1983. Said outspoken Manitoba MP Felix Holtmann: "What it says is, these separatists will take every opportunity they can to break up the country." Like François Gérin, another Quebec MP who left the Tory party on May 18 over Meech Lake, Bouchard will sit in Parliament as an Independent MP. By the end of last week, only one other Quebec backbencher, Gilbert Chartrand, had followed their lead. But other Quebec MPs made it clear that they sympathized with Bouchard's motives, and will follow him if the accord does not pass.

Bouchard; Mulroney (opposite): agony



MAGEC/PONOPRESSE

But Mulroney appeared to head off other immediate defections with an impassioned address to his Quebec caucus on the day after Bouchard's resignation. As he waved a bound copy of the Meech Lake accord with one hand, the Prime Minister pleaded with his fellow MPs to stay the course. At one point, he told the caucus, "We did Meech Lake without François Gérin and Lucien Bouchard." Later, Mulroney added apologetically, "I have known Bouchard more than 30 years and it would not do any good to start calling him names now."

But Mulroney was not alone in finding his options narrowed by Bouchard's action. In his resignation speech, Bouchard urged Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa to ignore any First Ministers' meeting that would discuss the Charest committee recommendations. Bourassa also faced heavy pressure from within his own caucus to refuse to attend any such meeting.

Powers: Still, Bourassa said that he saw no reason to boycott further talks. But he insisted that any modification of Quebec's "very minimal" constitutional demands was "out of the question." And he was especially unyielding about one of the clauses in the accord that has emerged as the source of some of the deepest differences among the premiers: the formal recognition of Quebec as a "distinct society." The three dissenting premiers want clauses added that would limit the powers that Quebec might gain from that imprecise description. But Bourassa again flatly rejected any such measures.

In fact, those growing pressures within Quebec made it graphically clear that Bourassa has no remaining margin for compromise. As a result, Mulroney and the premiers spent last weekend searching for wording that might mute the objections of detractors of the accord. And, although the Charest report listed 23 possible additions to Meech Lake, Mulroney, on the advice of his chief constitutional negotiator, Senator Lowell Murray, concentrated on clarifying three issues considered to be the most controversial in the accord. They are Quebec's "distinct society" status, the power of individual provinces to veto future Senate reform and the extent of Ottawa's right to promote minority languages across the country.

Still, Mulroney's decision to meet separately with each premier appears to have come only after a direct challenge from Peterson. The Ontario premier, impatient with Mulroney's decision not to call a First Ministers' conference, told Mulroney's office that he was prepared to call one of his own that would not include the Prime Minister. Stung by that proposal, Mulroney's officials then discussed holding three regional conferences with smaller groups of premiers, to which the Prime Minister would have travelled in order to avoid the impression of the provincial leaders going to 24 Sussex as supplicants. Finally, on May 23, they decided to ask the premiers to meet Mulroney individually, with the understanding that a full conference would be held if the one-on-one talks went well.

Provocative: Peterson was not the only premier who seemed impatient for compromise. Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan took the unusual step of calling a news conference to plead publicly with his New Brunswick neighbor, McKenna, to sign the accord as written. Such a "demonstration of leadership," Buchanan said, "could be the catalyst to move Newfoundland and Manitoba." But an aide to McKenna said he was not ready to do so—"yet." And Wells also



MIKE PINDER

MODIFYING DEMANDS IS 'OUT OF THE QUESTION,' BOURASSA STILL SAYS

repeated his unwillingness to sign the accord without substantial change.

For their part, Mulroney and Peterson aligned themselves closely with Bourassa. Declared Mulroney, after his Friday breakfast meeting with the Ontario leader: "Premier Peterson and I are resolved that Quebec will never again be isolated at the constitutional table." Their statement was a clear attempt to contain the nationalist pressures on the Quebec premier in the wake of Bouchard's resignation. But it came nearly a week after Bouchard, in his final hours as a minister, had sent a far more provocative message to Quebec.

an hour, he discussed his reasons for resigning with Mulroney. But despite the long-standing friendship between the Prime Minister and his former law school classmate, a friend of both men said that "no attempt was made to talk him out of leaving." Still, as Bouchard prepared to leave, they shook hands. And as they parted, Bouchard said that Mulroney told him: "After 30 years, this friendship will not disappear, no matter what happens."

But other Mulroney associates were incensed by what they regarded as a personal betrayal. And clearly, Bouchard's reversal was all the more bitter for having come from a man

Roberval to Baie-Comeau." Significantly, those two communities are represented, respectively, by Industry Minister Benoît Bouchard—who rapidly became Lucien Bouchard's successor as Mulroney's Quebec lieutenant—and Mulroney himself. Said one Quebec Tory: "It was a completely gratuitous cheap shot."

By his own account, Bouchard's frustration sprang largely from a feeling that he had been shut out of the government's Meech Lake strategy. In the months leading up to the last First Ministers' conference, in Ottawa last November, Mulroney—urged on by Bouchard—had refused to negotiate anything in the constitutional package. But after that conference, during which Newfoundland's Wells angrily denounced the government's inflexibility, the Tories changed course. Their new direction followed the advice of Mulroney's chief of staff, Stanley Hartt, who



Mulroney with Peterson; Wells: as time runs out, a desperate round of meetings to seek the outlines of a compromise

On May 19, Bouchard sent a telegram from Paris, where he was vacationing, congratulating the Parti Québécois on the anniversary of the Quebec referendum. A former PQ member himself, Bouchard voted for sovereignty-association in the referendum. When he entered active politics on Mulroney's team two years ago, he said that he believed in his old friend's vision of Quebec's place in the nation. But his unanticipated greeting to the PQ, read aloud at the party's annual meeting, provoked wild cheering from the separatist audience—and deep embarrassment in Ottawa. After that, Bouchard's ties to the Tories—and to Mulroney—unravelled swiftly.

When his flight from Paris landed at Montreal's Mirabel airport the next day, Bouchard was noncommittal with reporters who asked him about his plans. But when he went to 24 Sussex Drive to meet with Mulroney—at the Prime Minister's insistence—last week, his five-page resignation letter was already in his hand. For

Mulroney's biographer L. Ian MacDonald described as "the only person capable of seeing into Mulroney's soul," said one Quebec Tory, a friend of both men. "The timing was ill-chosen and ill-advised." Other Mulroney associates were less charitable—believing that Bouchard deliberately sabotaged the accord at a crucial time in order to further the cause of Quebec independence and set himself up as a future leader of the Parti Québécois. Declared one official in the Prime Minister's Office of Bouchard: "He was a living car bomb, calculated to explode at the most damaging moment." Added the official: "He knew exactly the effect of what he was doing."

Cheap: As well, Mulroney loyalists were stung by Bouchard's public plea to Bourassa to boycott further Meech Lake deliberations. Announcing his resignation in the Commons, Bouchard pointedly observed that if Bourassa did refuse to attend a First Ministers' conference, he would be supported by Quebecers "from

argued for a more conciliatory approach.

Initially, Bouchard appeared to regard the new stance as little more than a benign public relations exercise that would not change the government's fundamental position. Indeed, he encouraged Charest to accept the appointment as chairman of the constitutional committee. But Bouchard's early approval quickly soured when the Charest report began to be shaped by the views of Meech Lake's critics. Bouchard was especially furious over the apparent influence of Liberal leadership candidate Jean Chrétien, whom he blamed as the central architect of the 1982 patriation. Many of the backroom authors of the all-party report had been part of Chrétien's patriation team. Among them: constitutional expert Roger Tassé, senior Chrétien adviser Eddie Goldenberg and Peterson's principal secretary Daniel Gagnier. In his resignation letter, Bouchard declared that Charest's report seems to have been written by "the opponents of the Meech Lake

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Still, even some people who shared Bouchard's reservations about the Charest report were critical of the means of protest he chose. Two of Quebec's most influential newspapers, Montreal's *La Presse* and *Le Devoir*, said in editorials that he would have served the province better by remaining in cabinet at least until June 23 to fight for his beliefs. Lysiane Gagnon, an influential columnist with *La Presse* who had bitterly denounced the three dissenting provinces the previous week, instead turned her anger on Bouchard. Declared Gagnon: "The able politician Mr. Bourassa has no need of advice from a neophyte overcome by badly controlled emotions." That annoyance was shared by some Quebec members of the Tory caucus. Said Fernand Jourdenais, a strongly federalist MP for La Prairie riding: "I hope Meech Lake goes through so this backfires in his face."

Fiery: But some of that anger plainly sprang from recognition of the enormous impact of Bouchard's actions in his home province. When he appeared at Montreal's Queen Elizabeth hotel midweek to make a previously scheduled speech to the city's Chamber of Commerce, Bouchard was greeted by a tumultuous three-minute standing ovation. He received two more long ovations during the course of a fiery speech in which he called on Quebecers to unite to avoid being "screwed again" by English Canada.

In fact, with the June 23 deadline for ratification of the accord approaching, it is clear that many Quebecers have already made up their minds. Even many previously staunch federalists have begun to express deep sentiments of anger and frustration towards the rest of the country. One of the most striking figures in that transformation has been Quebec International Affairs Minister John Ciaccia. Ciaccia, a longtime friend of Jean Chrétien's, was a member of the executive committee of the "No" side in the 1980 referendum. But now, he told *Maclean's*, "I find myself thinking that, if there were a referendum tomorrow, they would have difficulty finding a leader for the 'No' side." Added Ciaccia: "This is nothing like 1980, when it was Quebecer against Quebecer. There is no dissension here: we are united in thinking that English Canada has turned on us."

But the same anguish and frustration was palpable on both sides of the debate. Sharon Carstairs, the Manitoba Liberal leader who has been a key opponent of the accord, confided that she has been tormented in recent months by accusations from her detractors that she is acting as a "mother of de-confederation." Said Carstairs: "I began to see myself as the enemy, because politicians and journalists had been saying I was public enemy number 1 for so long." She added, "I wondered if it was because of my persona and if it would be better if I resigned." But Carstairs said she had concluded, "I am representing sound principles."

But while the premiers trooped singly to Mulroney's home through the weekend, the gathering pessimism on both sides had already scuttled at least one upcoming event. In the wake of the 1987 signing of Meech Lake, Bourassa had planned to invite his fellow First Ministers to Quebec on June 24, 1990, to celebrate the accord's ratification on the province's official national holiday. But last month, with the accord's chances for success plainly fading, Bourassa cancelled those plans. As a gloomy and fractious nation haggled over its future, there was neither the time nor the taste for celebration.



DAVE BOZANICH

Carstairs: tormented by accusations that she is acting as 'mother of de-confederation'

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH *and* **BRUCE WALLACE** *with* ***PAUL KAIHLA*** *in Ottawa*

A ROUGH RIDE FOR THE DOLLAR

While Canadians agonized over the political future of the country last week, international money-market traders took a more matter-of-fact view of the growing storm over Meech Lake. Edgy investors in Japan, Europe and the United States rushed to sell their Canadian dollars the day after Lucien Bouchard's surprise resignation, apparently alarmed that the growing schism between English and French Canada could adversely affect the Canadian economy. A massive selloff on Tuesday pushed the currency down by more than a cent against the U.S. dollar, to a low of 83.79 cents, before heavy buying by the Bank of Canada halted the slide. Canada's dollar ended that day at 84.15 cents, down 0.8 cents from Monday, but by the close of trading on Friday had inched back upward to 84.53 cents. To help support the beleaguered currency, the Bank of Canada pushed the bank rate up 25 basis points to 14.05 per cent at its weekly setting on Thursday, carrying the rate to its highest level in almost eight years.

But foreign-exchange traders said that they remain skeptical about the dollar's stability. Said Michael Andrews, a New York City-based foreign-exchange analyst: "We are advising our clients to steer clear of the Canadian dollar until the political dust settles. It is now a very risky, very volatile currency." Other financial markets were also affected, with 10-year Government of Canada bonds posting a sharp drop of $2.60 for every $100 in face value last Tuesday.

The prospect of a divided Canada simply added to existing doubts among potential investors. "The fundamentals of the Canadian economy stink," Andrews said flatly, noting a continuing high budget deficit and signs that the economy is running out of steam. Even before last week's bank-rate jump, Bank of Canada governor John Crow had been keeping Canadian interest rates five or six percentage points above the U.S. rates to attract foreign investors. Still, the political uncertainty surrounding Meech Lake seemed certain to keep the dollar under pressure—and to heighten the prospect of even higher interest rates in the weeks to come.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM



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A 'NON' TO CANADA

A FORMER SEPARATIST BOLTS THE CABINET

Ignoring urgent telephone entreaties from Ottawa, Lucien Bouchard spent part of May 19 viewing the works of turn-of-the-century French artist Claude Monet, on display at the Monet Museum in the French village of Giverny, 80 km from Paris. But the studied tranquillity of Monet's pastels was in marked contrast to the turbulent political events that were about to be set in motion by the federal minister of the environment, one of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's closest confidants. Shortly before his visit to the gallery, Bouchard had sent a congratulatory telegram to the Parti Québécois on the 10th anniversary of the Quebec referendum as it held its annual convention in Bouchard's riding of Lac-Saint-Jean. That message, say those who know him well, was a sign that Bouchard—a former member of the separatist PQ—had already decided to resume an active role as a Quebec nationalist. No longer willing to hide his anger at what he perceived to be Quebec's humiliation at the hands of an English Canada determined to reject the Meech Lake accord, Bouchard instead was prepared to jeopardize his cabinet post—and a 30-year friendship with the prime minister who relied on him.

In fact, the telegram signified the end of a political journey that the 51-year-old lawyer from Chicoutimi, Que., had shared with Mulroney since both were classmates at Quebec City's Laval University. Returning to Montreal from France on Sunday, May 20, Bouchard, accompanied by his wife, Audrey, and their six-month-old son, defended his decision to send the telegram. The next day, Mulroney, who had first heard of the congratulatory message on the radio, summoned Bouchard to his official Ottawa residence at 24 Sussex Drive. During an hour-long meeting, Mulroney asked for, and accepted, his friend's already prepared resignation. Announcing his decision the following afternoon in the House of Commons, Bouchard peppered his speech with criticisms of the government. The Tories, he said, were contemplating additions to Meech Lake that would weaken Quebec's constitutional stature.

Passion: For the two friends, the break underscored conflicting visions of federalism. As Bouchard summed it up in his five-page resignation letter, written on the kitchen table of his Ottawa home on the morning of May 21: "I deeply believe that we have to rethink this country. We must stop trying to fit Quebec into the mould of a province like the others."

At the heart of Bouchard's anger was the report of the House of Commons committee that held public hearings into the additions to Meech Lake which New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna had proposed on March 21. That report, released on May 17, recommended a number of additions to the accord—additions that Bouchard stridently opposes. And last week, he demonstrated that he had ripened into a polished, charismatic orator and a political force to be reckoned with in the coming constitutional battles. In his first speech as an Independent MP, to the Montreal Chamber of Commerce, he issued an impassioned call to Quebecers to come "to a grand consensus" against the rest of Canada. The speech brought two standing ovations from Montreal's business elite.

Still, it was clear last week that Bouchard himself remained unsure of his own next move. For now, he said that he would sit as an Independent member of parliament alongside former Tory backbench MPs François Gérin and Gilbert Chartrand, both of whom also resigned from the Conservative party in sympathy with the Quebec nationalist cause. In Quebec, meanwhile, where Bouchard campaigned vigorously in favor of sovereignty-association during the 1980 referendum, his former PQ colleagues clearly consider him to be a valuable asset—and a potential future leader of the party. For his part, Bouchard said that he would spend the next several weeks considering his options, adding that he needed "a moment of sober thought."

Shifts: Despite the controversy that it produced, Bouchard's return to the nationalist fold was only the latest change of heart in a political career marked by shifting allegiances that included brief alliances with the New Democrats and the Liberals before his switch to the PQ during the early 1970s. He went on to serve as Premier René Lévesque's chief negotiator with unionized public servants in Quebec. Bouchard remained affiliated with the PQ through the 1970s and into the early 1980s.



Bouchard in Montreal: calls for a sovereign Quebec met a standing ovation

But some observers said that Bouchard's political evolution has mirrored the political development of his fellow Quebecers, as they have sought a better deal from Confederation under a succession of constitutional proposals. Said former Conservative party president Michael Meighen, another Bouchard classmate at Laval: "Lucien has always reflected the reality of Quebec. Today, that reality is a self-confidence and a lack of fear that English-speaking Canada has not yet been able to understand."

In fact Bouchard's ability to grasp unerringly the political mood of Quebec has long impressed the ambitious Mulroney, who frequently told his fellow Tories that the province held the key to their return to federal power. Bouchard, meanwhile, became intent on righting what he saw as the constitutional injustice dealt to Quebec in the negotiations that resulted in the 1982 patriation of the Canadian Constitution—over Quebec's objections. The two men's political interests converged in the 1984 federal election campaign. Mulroney declared his intention to include Quebec in the constitutional family. Bouchard, who earlier had tutored Mulroney in the language and subtleties of Quebec nationalism, helped his friend craft the speeches and campaign strategies that led the party to sweep 58 of Quebec's 75 seats. A year later, Mulroney sent Bouchard to Paris as Canadian ambassador to France.



JIM WEIR THEW

MP Chartrand: sympathy

But in March, 1988, Mulroney summoned Bouchard back to Canada as an unelected secretary of state in order to help resurrect the Tories' slumping popularity in Quebec after a series of scandals. In June of that year, Bouchard won a byelection in Lac-Saint-Jean, aided by a flood of federal spending in the riding, and held the riding in the November, 1988, election. Shortly after, he acquired the sensitive job of environment minister.

Credit: But Mulroney's crony grew increasingly restive in the public spotlight. Critics noted that the self-admitted political neophyte, unaccustomed to the tactics of federal political life, was prone to treat many cabinet meetings as distasteful obligations rather than as opportunities to forge alliances with other ministers. As well, he railed against any criticism of Quebec, suggesting in April that Canada might have to choose between Quebec and Newfoundland in order to break the Meech Lake deadlock. On issues involving the constitution, even friends concede that Bouchard was unable, or unwilling, to adopt a national perspective. Said Meighen: "My one criticism of Lucien is that he refuses to give credit to all those allies in English-speaking Canada who are hanging tough in favor of Meech Lake."

And in the end, while Bouchard spoke movingly of his support for the Meech Lake accord, it was a cause that his departure from Ottawa clearly put at risk. As Bouchard read his resignation speech to the House of Commons last week, Mulroney sat, drawn and tired, toying with his eyeglasses in his lap without looking up. Just six seats away, the member for Lac-Saint-Jean gave every indication that he, at last, was happy to be freed from the constraints of government—and the Tory party.

E. KAYE FULTON *in Ottawa*

AN UNFINISHED GREEN PLAN

Lucien Bouchard's unexpected resignation from the federal environment portfolio was a stunning-enough political blow to the Mulroney government. But many environmentalists saw his departure as an even worse strike against the cause of a cleaner world. "It is a disaster," said Elizabeth May, a representative of the Sierra Club of Canada. Indeed, Bouchard's timing left several key initiatives incomplete. Among them, a new act outlining federal responsibilities to assess the environmental impact of major construction projects, and Ottawa's plans for an environmental review of Quebec's vast James Bay hydroelectric megaproject. Bouchard was also in the midst of turning his vaguely defined environmental green paper, released in March, into concrete programs. Said May: "There is an awful lot that is at the critical stage at the same time."

Indeed, there was no question that Bouchard's appointment to the portfolio in December, 1988, provided the environment department with an unusually strong voice in the cabinet. His close personal friendship with Mulroney, as well as his role on the influential priorities and planning committee of cabinet, which sets the government's legislative agenda, gave him enormous political power. As well, Bouchard was widely regarded as the most powerful intellect to hold the environment portfolio in at least a decade. Said NDP environment critic James Fulton: "The environment has lost an ally who cannot be replaced."

Ironically, one of the most pressing decisions facing Treasury Board president Robert de Cotret, Bouchard's interim successor, will be to reconcile opponents and supporters of Bouchard's parting gesture on behalf of the environment. That initiative, unveiled unexpectedly on May 16 in the course of an international meeting on the environment held in Bergen, Norway, committed Canada to limit emissions of carbon dioxide, a byproduct of the burning of fossil fuels that is contributing to the buildup of so-called greenhouse gasses in the earth's atmosphere, to 1990 levels over the next 10 years. In addition, de Cotret must balance the goals of Bouchard's green paper against the interests of an increasingly shaky national economy. And although de Cotret, also a member of the priorities and planning committee, wields influence, he will also continue on in his old job. That double load may not allow him enough time for the demanding environment portfolio. Indeed, some observers said the environmental agenda has been severely set back by Bouchard's departure. Said Fulton: "It means two lost years." With polls regularly showing environmental problems among voters' main concerns, it is time that the government can scarcely afford to lose.

GREG W. TAYLOR *with* DOUG NIXON *in Ottawa*

ET TU, LUCIEN?

A FRIENDSHIP FOUNDERS OVER MEECH LAKE

BY PETER C NEWMAN

Last week's lightning defection of Lucien Bouchard as Brian Mulroney's Quebec lieutenant was a breach of faith seldom exceeded in its sabotaging of a former personal friend and political ally.

Much has been written about Mulroney and Bouchard having studied together at the Laval law school during the 1960s. In fact, they were soul mates, in the sense that they were not only best friends but complemented one another. Brian Mulroney, the man of action, Lucien Bouchard, the man of thought.

Nothing that happened to Mulroney in the six years of his prime ministership has hurt him more deeply than Bouchard's departure. The Prime Minister knows that politics and gratitude are strangers, but up to now he believed loyalty and friendship were not negotiable. "It was like a death in the family," according to one of the PM's closest confidants. "The test of Brian's feelings is measured not in anger but in sadness, and I haven't seen him this upset since his father died."

At one point on the weekend, Mulroney telephoned his former chief of staff, Fred Doucet, to remind him that Florian Sauvageau's 1985 CBC documentary about the people closest to the Prime Minister had been titled *Brian, Lucien, Fred et les autres.* "Now," Mulroney lamented, "there's just you, Fred."

Stars: Bouchard, an intellectual with impressive credentials, was not, at least until last week, an opportunistic politician. He had been invited to Ottawa and agreed to come for one reason: to help his friend Brian Mulroney govern the country more effectively by introducing a credible French-Canadian presence. Their parting last week was particularly painful because their lives had intertwined. Although Bouchard had the better brain, Mulroney had the better connections and was able to get his friend a job as counsel for the 1974 Cliche Commission into violence on the Quebec labor scene. Bouchard later became a leading animator with the Parti Québécois and the two rising stars of Quebec politics found themselves on opposite sides of the 1980 referendum. The friendship endured unharmed and, despite Bouchard's separatist persuasions, Mulroney named him in 1985 to the prestigious post of ambassador to France.

Three years later, Mulroney helped Bouchard get elected in the rural Quebec riding of Lac-Saint-Jean by throwing in huge gobs of federal funding and personally campaigning on his behalf. After Mulroney won his 1988 electoral majority, he rewarded Bouchard with not only the Quebec lieutenancy but the post of environment minister, which was supposed to be action central for the Tories' second term.

It hasn't turned out that way, and those who know Bouchard best claim the frustrations he suffered in his portfolio were nearly as responsible for his abrupt departure as was his longing to rejoin his former colleagues pushing for Quebec independence. He was regularly beaten up in cabinet by right wingers—led by Finance Minister Michael Wilson, Transport Minister John Crosbie and National Defence Minister Bill McKnight—who treated most of his suggested innovations as a threat to private-sector economic decision-making. It is the ultimate irony of Bouchard's resignation that the only cabinet member who supported him wholeheartedly and allowed him to build up a commendable record was Mulroney himself.

But the final break came when Bouchard talked himself into believing that the representative voices of English Canada on the issue of Quebec's constitutional future were the harsh tones of Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells and Manitoba Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs. He became resigned to the fact that Meech Lake was doomed, but consoled himself with the notion that its demise would aid the cause of Quebec separatism.

Action: Then came publication of the Charest committee report. According to one version, Bouchard was upset with the signs of movement in Manitoba and Newfoundland.

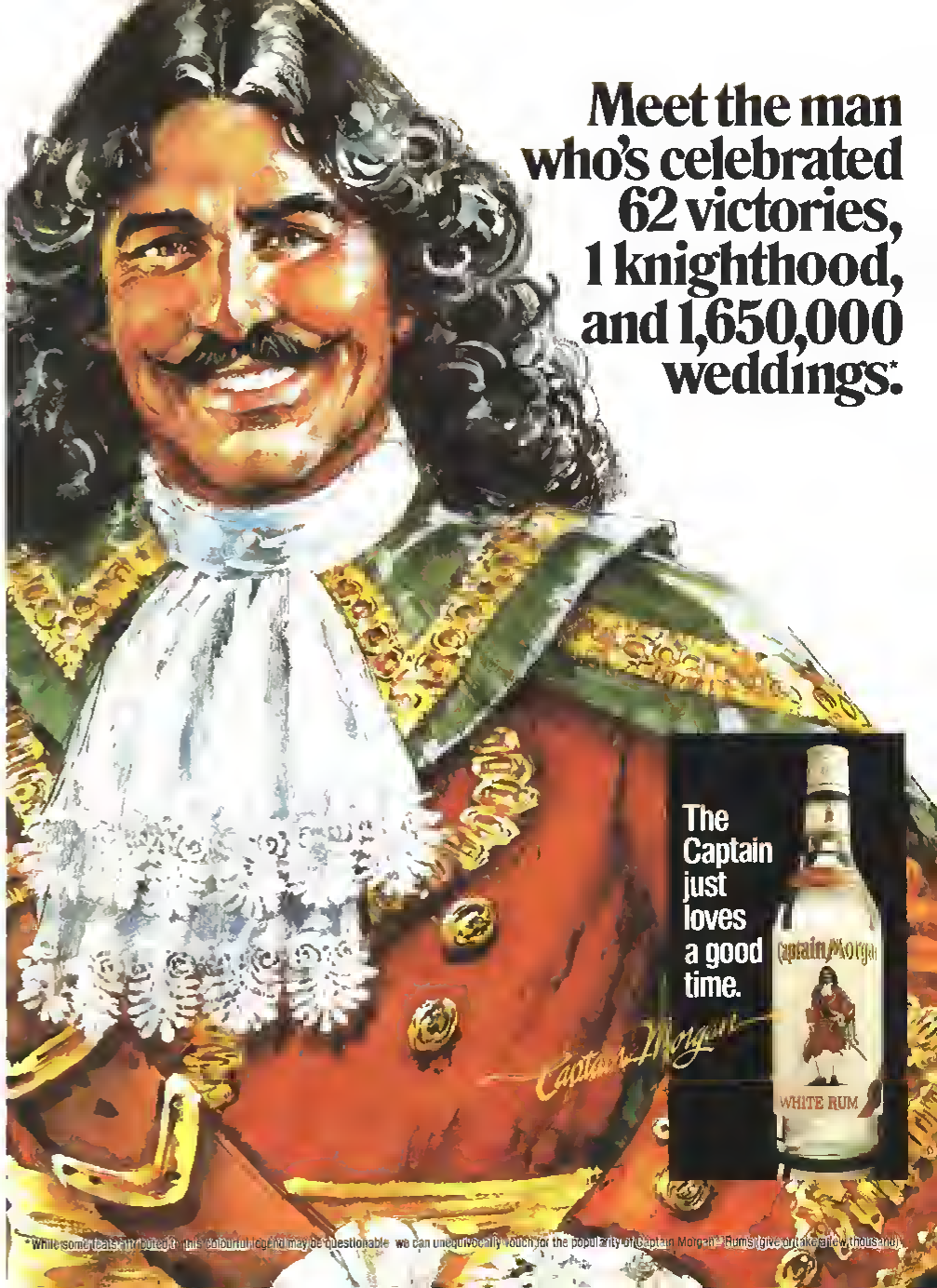


BORSINGOTT/CANAPRESS

Mulroney and Bouchard campaigning in 1988: 'like a death in the family'

Visualizing a scenario that would allow the accord to pass—accompanied by a declaration that a later meeting would deal with many of the 23 points raised by the committee—Bouchard realized Quebec's position would be seriously eroded. To forestall such an outcome, he forced the government's hand by publicly aligning himself with the PQ. Mulroney had no choice but to accept his resignation.

The episode was particularly shattering to the Prime Minister because his whole approach to life and politics (which to him are the same thing) is based on the "You dance with the one who brung ya" ethic, which holds that within his circle no one switches sides. A soul mate no more, Lucien Bouchard, the man of thought, had become a man of action at last. □



QUEBEC'S NEW NATIONALISM

THIS TIME, A MAJORITY WOULD LEAVE

Rémy Trudel says that he was asked the question frequently while touring Quebec this year on a fund-raising drive for the Parti Québécois. Teenagers across the province wanted to know if a sovereign Quebec would have its own armed forces, said the former rector of the University of Quebec in Abitibi who now sits as a PQ member in Quebec's national assembly. "It is a simplistic question," Trudel told *Maclean's* last week. "But it is something we have to answer."

In fact, as disillusionment with federalism and English Canada continues to spread in Quebec, such questions only underscore the interest in what Trudel and other PQ members are once again viewing as an attainable goal: Quebec sovereignty. Last week, the PQ began circulating a 46-page booklet outlining the party's blueprint for independence—which includes plans for a Quebec army. And PQ Leader Jacques Parizeau urged Premier Robert Bourassa to schedule a special debate in the national assembly during which Quebec politicians could discuss the province's future. Declared Parizeau, whose party is now running neck-and-neck with Bourassa's Liberals in public opinion polls: "We must determine where we are going."

Crisis: Still, while Quebec federalists and separatists alike agree that the province's destiny is uncertain, there is a newly strident mood among many Quebecers. In a nationwide Gallup poll conducted among 1,025 respondents in early May, 61 per cent of Quebecers said that Quebec should opt for sovereignty-association with the rest of Canada. And much of that support for qualified independence clearly stems from a widespread sense of betrayal felt by Quebecers over the rest of Canada's failure to ratify the Meech Lake accord. "If Meech does not go through we are looking at the worst constitutional crisis we have ever had in this country," said Christos Sirros, Bourassa's junior minister of health. "There is a growing sense here that the only way to achieve security is with independence."

But unlike the 1980 referendum, when Quebecers rejected sovereignty-association by a 60-to-40 margin and were bitterly divided into separatist and federalist camps, the current constitutional crisis has united Quebec francophones of every political stripe—and has even brought many anglophones into the sovereignist camp. The current nationalistic fervor has also extended into the province's traditionally federalist business sector. Indeed, in a recent poll of 500 Quebec business executives conducted by the weekly paper *Les Affaires*, fully 41.5 per cent of respondents said that they would endorse independence as an alternative to a failed constitutional accord. And long-standing proponents of Quebec independence, in an ironic use of the most contentious provision of the accord, say that the province's increasing solidarity is powerful evidence that Quebec is, indeed, a "distinct society." Observed former PQ cabinet minister Claude Morin, who served as constitutional adviser to former premier René Lévesque and who is now a university professor: "We do not consider ourselves a province. We consider ourselves a nation."

The ground swell of support for independence has also given rise to the prospect of new alliances among established leaders of the independence movement, many of whom became estranged in the wake of the referendum. Shortly after federal environment minister Lucien Bouchard resigned from the Conservative caucus last week, Parizeau saluted the former PQ member's decision and invited him to rejoin the party. The offer came two years after Parizeau attacked Bouchard—who supported sovereignty-association during the referendum campaign—for his decision to enter federal politics. In fact, Bouchard has opted for now to sit as an Independent in Parliament. Still, the warming between Bouchard and Parizeau prompted Bourassa to joke in the national assembly last week that the two men were now in the midst of a "deep and intense honeymoon" that would have been impossible to predict only months ago.

Blame: For some, the sudden resurgence of Quebec's independence movement has come as a surprise. Claude Morin, for one, said that he had expected the revival would take much longer. In fact, only five years ago the PQ, during the final months of Lévesque's leadership, voted to relegate sovereignty-association to secondary status in the party's platform. Declared Morin: "Everything that has happened in the past few months has been unexpected. What is ironic is that it is not the PQ who have precipitated the crisis—it is the federalists."

For their part, key mem-



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Bourassa: polls show his room to manoeuvre is narrowing



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bers of Bourassa's government contend that they anticipated such a crisis if the constitutional impasse was not resolved. But they lay the blame squarely at the feet of politicians elsewhere in Canada who have refused to ratify the accord and want to reopen negotiations. Quebec's Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Gil Rémillard said in an interview last week that Canada was given fair warning. "People thought we were bluffing," he told *Maclean's*. "Now they can see we were not. They have no margin for manoeuvring. The situation is critical."

At the same time, though, the deadlock over the accord has put Bourassa in a difficult position. Influential Quebec political figures such as Bouchard and Léon Dion, a veteran constitutional adviser to the Liberal party, have urged the premier not to attend a first ministers' conference. Bourassa has rejected those appeals, saying he would go to a conference but would not consider any amendments to the accord that affect Quebec—regardless of the consequences for Canada.



PQ members in Alma commemorate the referendum: next time, victory?

Allegiance: In fact, Bourassa's Liberals have already formed a committee to recommend policy options in the event that the Meech Lake accord is not ratified. And both Bourassa and Rémillard have said the failure of the accord could force the Liberal government to begin negotiations that would lead towards greater Quebec autonomy within an entirely new federal structure. But Bourassa contends that his first allegiance remains to the accord. "We are standing by the signature we put on the accord on June 3, 1987, and we are asking the other provinces to respect that," he said in the national assembly last week. Added Sirros: "It comes down to Canada keeping its word."

Still, some observers say that Quebecers' angry backlash against English Canada over its refusal to ratify Meech Lake could force those English-Canadian politicians opposed to the accord to reevaluate their positions. For his part, Rémillard said that Bouchard's resignation, followed by the enthusiastic reception of his fiery pro-independence speech before the Montreal Chamber of Commerce last week, could have a sobering effect on the hold-outs. "I am actually a little more optimistic now that these things have happened," he said.

But the failure of the Meech Lake accord would clearly be a welcome development for the PQ—even if it forces the Liberals to adopt a more nationalist posture. In fact, in the past Bourassa has openly mused about alternative relationships between Quebec and English Canada. While teaching in Europe following the defeat of his Liberal government by Lévesque's PQ in 1976, he said that Canada's future may be in a system similar to the European Community. And last week PQ House Leader Jacques Brassard said that he would be pleased if the Liberals adopted a sovereignty platform. "The reason we founded the party was to make Quebec sovereign," Brassard said. "But we are not the exclusive owner of the idea. The day two parties decide to go in the same direction, sovereignty will be more or less accomplished."



Parizeau: competition for the nationalist leadership

That theme of political accommodation is also evident in the PQ's new rallying cry for independence: "*Le patrie avant la parti*"—the country before the party. But in spite of such sentiments it is also clear that the PQ, whose members openly acknowledge that they are still rebuilding their party, hopes to make partisan gains as a result of Quebec's nationalist mood. Indeed, at the party's recent convention in Alma, Que., timed to mark the 10th anniversary of the May 20, 1980, referendum, Parizeau, encouraged by recent public opinion polls, optimistically told party members that in light of the constitutional crisis they should be prepared to welcome a new wave of partisans from all areas of Quebec's political landscape.

Phalanx: Meanwhile, Parizeau and party vice-president Bernard Landry have also begun establishing an alliance with the federal Tory MPs who have quit the Conservative caucus over the Meech Lake debate—and, they say, with others who are staying in the caucus so far but are unhappy with Ottawa's handling of the constitutional impasse. Indeed, even before the resignations of Bouchard and fellow MPs François Gérin and Gilbert Chartrand, Landry's plans included establishing a phalanx of sovereigntist MPs in Ottawa. Said Parizeau of the proposed federal flank: "These people can take the time to explain to Canadians that sovereignty is not directed against Canada. It will simply be a new arrangement."

But even as the new nationalism sweeps over Quebec, many observers profess uncertainty about who is best qualified to lead the province into the new era. In a swipe at Bourassa, Parizeau recently said: "If you have a sore tooth you go and see a dentist, not a shoemaker. If people want sovereignty, they will go and see the sovereigntists." But some Quebecers question whether the PQ is capable of steering Quebec if Meech Lake fails. Others note that, in spite of the bitterness towards English Canada now evident among some Liberals, the party has not enunciated a clear course towards greater sovereignty. For the moment, though, such doubts are clearly secondary to the new mood of solidarity with which Quebecers are responding to the constitutional crisis.

DAN BURKE *in Quebec City*



Voters in Bucharest: after 44 years of communism, Romanians fear rapid change

WORLD

GOING AGAINST THE TREND

AMID CHARGES OF FRAUD, FORMER COMMUNISTS WIN ROMANIA'S FIRST MULTIPARTY VOTE IN FOUR DECADES

Outside polling station No. 57 in the small Romanian town of Scornicești, enterprising vendors grilled pork sausages for the hungry crowd. Inside the drab concrete-block school, locals waited for up to three hours to do something that no one in Romania had done in 44 years: vote in a multiparty election. Scornicești became infamous in Romania as the home town of Nicolae Ceaușescu, the Communist dictator who was overthrown and executed during a bloody uprising last December. But election day there was little different from elsewhere in Romania: farmers squinted at the complicated ballots, and families crowded into voting booths to help illiterate elderly people mark the paper. And when the votes were counted last week, Scornicești had joined the rest of the country in giving overwhelming support to a former senior Communist official, 60-year-old Ion Iliescu.

Iliescu, Romania's interim leader since December, won a crushing 85 per cent of the vote for president. And his National Salvation Front, a coalition that includes many onetime Communists and army officers, took two-thirds of the seats in the country's new two-chamber parliament. Romania's violent revolution differed dramatically from the peaceful upheavals that toppled Communist regimes in other Eastern European countries. And last week's vote contrasted with the trend set by the East Germans and Hungarians, who rejected former Communists in recent elections. The outcome dismayed opposition activists. And even some Front supporters cautioned that their triumph was too great. "This is no good for democracy," said Silviu Brucan, one of the Front's leading intellectuals. "A strong opposition is good for democracy—particularly when a democracy is in the making."

For Iliescu's opponents, the results were devastating. Radu Câmpeanu, 66, the National Liberal Party's presidential candidate, won just 11 per cent of the vote. Ion Rațiu, a 73-year-old bow-tied millionaire who returned to Romania after a 50-year exile in London to run for the National Peasant Party, came third with a humiliating four per cent. Last week, Rațiu said that he would contest the results, claiming that the Front had committed "massive fraud" by stuffing ballot boxes and distributing ballots with its candidates already marked. But most foreign observers rejected such charges.

A 60-member international team (including six Canadians), organized by the U.S. Republican and Democratic parties, agreed that the process was "flawed" but said that its members did not see evidence of systematic fraud. Still, they reprimanded the Front government for failing to ensure a freer climate during the election campaign, which was marred by violence against opposition candidates. As a result, the American observers concluded that "the democratic credentials of the National Salvation Front have not been fully established."

Despite those concerns, there was clearly little question that the outcome came close to reflecting the will of most Romanians. Many voters credited Iliescu's Front with removing the worst excesses of the Ceaușescu regime—and with modest improvements in their lives. Gheorghe Sterea, a farmer in the village of Cioficeni, near Bucharest, said that he voted for Iliescu because he was grateful that he could reclaim land seized from him under Ceaușescu's policy of "systemization"—a plan to destroy traditional villages and relocate their inhabitants in centralized apartment complexes. Sterea was out last week working on the site of his old house, which had been razed in 1988 as part of that deeply unpopular program. "Now, I can build again," he said. "Everyone around here went with Iliescu. Why should we put at risk the improvements we have already seen?"

Another village, Mirgîna, reflected the same deeply conservative thinking that clearly dominates the backward countryside of Romania, the poorest country in Europe aside from isolated Albania. Some voters went to the polls in donkey carts, while the few battered Dacia cars dodged chickens on the deeply rutted dirt road. At polling station No. 127, a disgruntled Peasant party organizer complained to a visitor that the campaign was loaded against his group. But local farmers quickly interjected, accusing him of representing rich farmers who want to reclaim land that they owned before the end of the Second World War. The Front government's policy of giving each farmer an extra 1.2 acres of land to work privately won them almost all the votes in the village. "We're happy to have a little more land for a couple of cows," said one elderly woman. "These people just want the rich to get everything back." A similar sentiment was evident among workers, who voted massively for the Front largely because Iliescu promised to protect their jobs by moving slowly towards a market economy.

Romanians' general willingness to back a man who was once one of Ceaușescu's closest collaborators prompted something close to despair among those who had sought a clean break with the Communist past. Thomas Kleininger, a leading member of the Group for Social Dialogue, made up of Bucharest intellectuals, said that Romanians are afraid of rapid change after 44 years of communism. "They are easily satisfied if they have a job," he said. "For now, at least, they aren't interested in changing things very much."

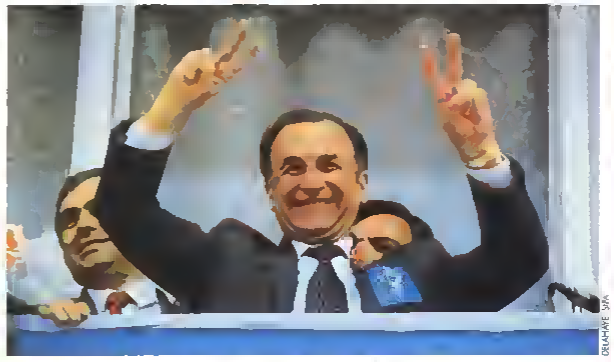
Other factors played a role. The December revolution left the Communist power structure essentially untouched, giving the Front control of most town administrations. Both opposition presidential candidates had spent many years in exile, Rațiu in London and Câmpeanu in Paris, and many voters said that they regarded them as outsiders. "Iliescu wasn't abroad when we had Ceaușescu," said Sterea, the farmer in Cioficeni. "He suffered with us."

In fact, Iliescu had a long career in Romania's Communist party and was even regarded at one time as Ceaușescu's chosen successor. He clashed with the dictator in 1971 and was demoted. But he remained a member of the party's Central Committee until 1984 and retained some party posts until as late as 1987.

For Romania's handful of onetime dissidents, the outcome was a bitter blow. Doina Cornea, 62, the best-known dissident under Ceaușescu, staged a weeklong hunger strike to underscore her opposition to Iliescu. On the eve of the vote, just hours after ending her fast, she emerged, gaunt and frail, from her house in the Transylvanian city of Cluj to warn that Romanians were about to betray their revolution. "The people have let themselves be manipulated by fear," she said. "It's terrible."

In Bucharest, student protesters who occupied the city's University Square since late April vowed to continue their demonstrations. But their protest lost momentum after the Front's crushing victory, and by week's end it appeared increasingly aimless. Instead, the initiative lay with Iliescu. After his victory, he declared that he wanted to transform Romania into a "Swedish-style social democracy" and promised to lead his country into the European Community. But his murky past appears to put his newly professed commitment to market economics seriously in doubt. And it suggests that Romania's new democracy still rests on extremely shaky foundations.

ANDREW PHILLIPS *in Scornicești*



Iliescu: even Front supporters cautioned that their triumph was too great

World Notes

KILLINGS IN KASHMIR
In Srinagar, capital of Jammu and Kashmir, the only predominantly Moslem state in mainly Hindu India, at least 58 people were killed when paramilitary forces fired on mourners carrying the body of Moslem cleric Maulvi Mohammed Farooq. The incident occurred amid rising tensions between India and Pakistan. The Indian government has accused its Moslem neighbor of provoking a Moslem secessionist campaign in Kashmir.

MANDELA BODYGUARD CONVICTED
A South African court found Winnie Mandela's former chief bodyguard, Jerry Richardson, 41, guilty of murdering 14-year-old black activist Stompie Seipei. During the trial, state witnesses testified that Mandela had been a party to the abduction of Seipei in December, 1988, while her husband, black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, was still in jail. She has denied any wrongdoing.

A LONG-AWAITED APOLOGY
Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu formally apologized to South Korean President Roh Tae-woo, who was on an official visit to Tokyo, for Japan's harsh colonial rule from 1910 to 1945. During that period, thousands of Koreans were taken to Japan for slave labor. Emperor Akihito also expressed "deepest regrets" for Japan's actions.

A TRADE SHOWDOWN
President George Bush decided to renew most-favored-nation trade status to China. But many congressmen, who said that Beijing should be punished for its crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators last June, pledged to oppose the move.

A NEW ARAB NATION
Pro-Western North Yemen and socialist South Yemen merged after 300 years of separation to form a powerful new republic dominating the strategic entrance to the Red Sea. The parliaments of both states elected North Yemeni leader Ali Abdullah Saleh president of the new nation of 12 million.

CLEARING THE AIR
The U.S. House of Representatives approved a clean air act, intended to reduce acid rain, smog and toxic emissions, that includes stronger restrictions than a bill passed by the Senate in April. President George Bush said that he would seek to remove a House amendment that would provide $295 million in aid to workers who will lose their jobs because of the new pollution controls.

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ISRAEL

Fatal consequences

A massacre rekindles the Palestinian revolt



PR DAMM/MEDIA SPA

A Palestinian victim in 'the slave market': growing impatience in Washington

It is known locally as "the slave market," a patch of wasteland at the town of Rishon LeZion where Israeli contractors go to hire Palestinian day laborers from the Gaza Strip. On May 20, the slave market became a killing ground when an apparently deranged Israeli slaughtered seven of the work-seekers with a rifle. The massacre injected vigorous new life into the 29-month-old *intifadeh*, or uprising, in the Israeli-occupied territories. And it brought Israel once again before the court of world opinion as the UN Security Council met in special session in Geneva at week's end to hear PLO leader Yasser Arafat launch a tirade against Israel's treatment of the territories' 1.7 million Palestinians.

Earlier in the week, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, hinting at a break with traditional policy, said that U.S. officials would be "prepared to discuss" Arab demands for the dispatch of UN observers to the territories. If Washington were to support those demands, it would send a clear signal of growing impatience with the Israelis' tough occupation policies and their failure to negotiate with the Palestinians. Plainly, U.S. officials rejected the contention of many Arabs that the Rishon LeZion bloodbath was an act of deliberate policy. Ami Popper, the 21-year-old alleged killer, had a history of mental instability. But both Baker and President George Bush were openly critical of the force the Israeli security forces used to quell the widespread riots that followed Popper's rampage—killing at least 15 more Palestinians and wounding an estimated 850.

When Arafat sought permission last week to travel to New York City to address a UN Security Council emergency session, the U.S. administration found itself in a dilemma. Clearly wishing to avoid the kind of controversy that erupted over its rejection of Arafat's last U.S. visa application in December, 1988, American officials agreed to switch the debate to Geneva and told the Arabs that they were willing to consider sending UN observers to the territories. The Americans hastened to add that they envisioned only an inspection tour and not a permanent UN observer force. But Israeli diplomats tried to persuade the Americans to veto the proposal altogether.

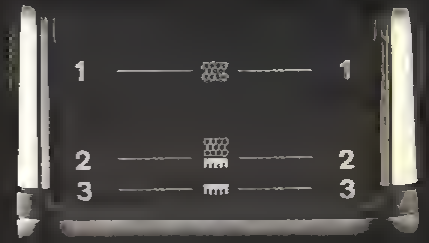
Meanwhile, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens declared that his government would disregard the resolution if it passed. "Israel would not accept UN observers in territory under our control," he told reporters, adding that the observers' presence might only incite greater violence. If the Security Council resolution should pass without a U.S. veto, Israel, already in the grip of a prolonged political crisis as it enters its third month with only a caretaker government, would find itself isolated as never before.

JOHN BIERMAN *with* ERIC SILVER *in Jerusalem and* WILLIAM LOWTHER *in Washington*

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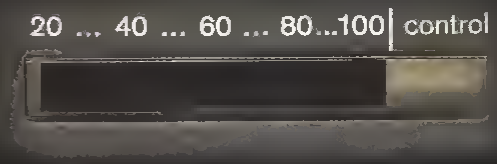


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IN FROM THE COLD WAR



GORSKI/FOCUS STOCK PHOTO

THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT IS PART OF A SEARCH FOR THE LANGUAGE OF A NEW ERA IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

To bring down and crush the liberated countries and to arrest the course of history, the forces of imperialism, particularly American imperialism, are ready to do anything—engage in economic sabotage, political provocation and direct force.

I believe the Soviet Union seeks [military] superiority. . . To suggest that they are nice, peace-loving people is wrong. The facts, or the evidence, is overwhelmingly against that.

A Soviet, an American. They speak the language of the Cold War, rooted in clashing ideologies, fuelled by all-consuming suspicions and backed by doomsday might. Their words are almost numbingly commonplace, indistinguishable from a thousand other superpower pronouncements over the past four decades. Except for one notable fact: the speakers happen to be Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush.

This week, as the Soviet and American presidents meet in Washington, the talk will be of a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), of Lithuania's bid for independence from Moscow, of German unification.





POPPER PICTURE GROUP

Bush; Gorbachev: avoiding the rhetoric of the past

But, in a sense, the second Gorbachev-Bush summit is part of a larger process. It is a search for the language of a new era, a post-Cold War dialogue that avoids the reflexive rhetoric of those quotations—Gorbachev's to an Algerian magazine in 1986, Bush's to a U.S. newspaper in 1980 when he was seeking the Republican presidential nomination.

Salute: Lately, the Soviet leader, his position weakened by rebellious republics, inter-ethnic unrest and a basket-case economy, has been talking of peace and co-operation with the West. And Bush, who only last fall was still exercising his trademark "prudence" towards Gorbachev, now speaks with the fervor of the converted. "I salute the man for what he has done," he said in early May.

At the time, Bush was rejecting calls for retaliation against the Kremlin for its economic blockade of Lithuania, and openly worrying about the possibility of a coup by the Soviet military. That, too, is a reality of the new era: to Bush, the fate of Lithuania is now less important than the fate of Mikhail Gorbachev. If the Soviet leader's popularity is declining precipitously at home, he remains a charismatic and crucial figure in the West, the man who made the new day dawn.

Of course, the military establishments in both countries, their prestige and budgets inflated during the tumultuous times, are now entering a difficult period of reductions and re-evaluations (pages 45 and 48). But, for ordinary Americans and Soviets, the new, relatively propaganda-free period is one of intense interest.

In the age of *glasnost*, many Soviets have found that increasing familiarity with the America long portrayed as crime-ridden, drug-riddled and uncaring has bred not contempt but understanding (page 42). One recent poll conducted by the Soviet Academy of Sciences showed that 87 per cent of Soviet respondents said that relations with the United States are "good" or "satisfactory," while 93 per cent favored regular Soviet-American summits.

For Americans, imbued with images of sullen-eyed Communists enslaving their own people while plotting to take over the world, a Gallup poll to be released this week reveals more positive impressions. Fifty-five per cent of respondents said that they rated the Soviet Union very or mostly favorably, while 32 per cent gave it an unfavorable rating. 39 per cent even said that they viewed Moscow as an ally, compared with only 31 per cent who called it an enemy (page 38).



The issue is whether the era of improved feelings will last. Is it possible that the spirit of Nikita Khrushchev's "we will bury you" or Ronald Reagan's "evil empire" will return—that, to future historians, the present period will be merely a warm spot on a long, cold road?

Even now, there are ominous signs. Last week, right-wing Republicans lashed out at U.S. Secretary of State James Baker for allegedly making too many concessions to the Soviets in order to reach agreement in principle on START in time for this week's summit. In Vienna, negotiations on reducing conventional forces in Europe remained deadlocked. And Gorbachev's internal troubles mounted. The stalemate dragged on between Soviet and Lithuanian leaders. And on the economic front, Soviet officials, in unveiling a new reform package designed to move the country gradually towards a free market, acknowledged that the program will lead to sharp increases in food prices and unemployment. They announced plans to hold a countrywide referendum this year to try to enlist popular support. But if support for Gorbachev continues to dwindle, could he be overthrown by the military? By Kremlin hard-liners?

Hate: The speculation over those questions goes on and on. The answer is that no one really knows. But some things seem irrevocable. The Berlin Wall will not rise again. The Soviets' former satellites in Eastern Europe are choosing their own paths, however bumpy and divergent. And the people of the two powers that had four decades to learn how to hate each other—and to prepare to fight each other—are finding common ground.

In June, 1989, a group of American Vietnam veterans in Missoula, Mont., sponsored a visit by three Soviet veterans of the war in Afghanistan. The two groups talked about suffering similar traumas in war, and the Soviets spoke to schoolchildren and attended a barbecue. "They're just people who don't want war any more than we do," said Jerri Skaggs, a counsellor at a Missoula veterans' centre. "The three who came, and the vets that brought them over, sent a joint letter to both Bush and Gorbachev saying, 'If you ever decide to fight, we'll stand in the middle and try to stop you.' "

BOB LEVIN



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You may, however, quietly appreciate the observation certain editors of Motor Trend made that the Sedan de Ville speaks softly of authority and power luxury that has not been dimmed materially by the demands of the wind tunnel. After all, while we enjoy the concept of power and luxury we must abide by the concept of being neighbourly.



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'THEY ARE JUST LIKE US'

AMERICAN VIEWS OF THE SOVIETS ARE CHANGING

Shortly before Grade 6 children at an elementary school in West Jordan, Utah, watched a screening of the Cold War satire *The Russians Are Coming, The Russians Are Coming*, the Russians really did come. But unlike the 1966 movie, in which Russian submariners make a forced landing on Nantucket, Mass., and sow panic throughout the community, the Soviets who went to West Jordan last month at the children's invitation disarmed their young hosts with warmth and candor. In fact, the four visitors, who are part of a 28-member Soviet inspection team charged with monitoring a nearby missile plant's compliance with the 1987 Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, dashed all the children's expectations. "I thought they'd be mean," said 11-year-old Jacob Nelson, after meeting the Soviets. Added Bernadette Hogan, 12: "I thought they'd look like the Nazis and be spies." Jodi Burgess, 11, had an even more frightening notion. "I thought they wanted to take over the country."



APRIL CAU

Soviet inspector (right) in Utah: 'preconceived notions begin to melt away'

Those impressions, although childish, provide a vivid example of the misconceptions that have grown up during 45 years of the Cold War. But now many Americans of all ages have begun to re-evaluate their views. Since December 1987, when charismatic Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev went to Washington for a summit with then-President Ronald Reagan, a wave of so-called Gorbymania has been sweeping the nation. In fact, a new Gallup poll to be released this week found that 68 per cent of American respondents viewed Gorbachev very or mostly favorably, compared with 21 per cent who gave him an unfavorable rating.

Eye-opener: Magna, Utah (population 20,000), has become a crucible for the warming of the Cold War. A small, deeply conservative community 24 km west of Salt Lake City, it is the home of the Hercules Aerospace Co., which has been producing missiles since the late 1950s. Under the INF Treaty, signed by Gorbachev and Reagan on Dec. 8, 1987, Soviet inspectors moved to Utah to ensure that the Hercules plant does not build any more solid-fuel rocket motors for Pershing II missiles. For area residents, their presence has been an eye-opener. "There in your mind is the bad guy, the Russian who is 10 feet tall," said Col. William McNally, local commander of the On-Site Inspection Agency which co-ordinates the Soviets' activities in the state. "But when you meet them, they are real people. They have families and grandchildren. All of a sudden, a lot of the preconceived notions begin to melt away."

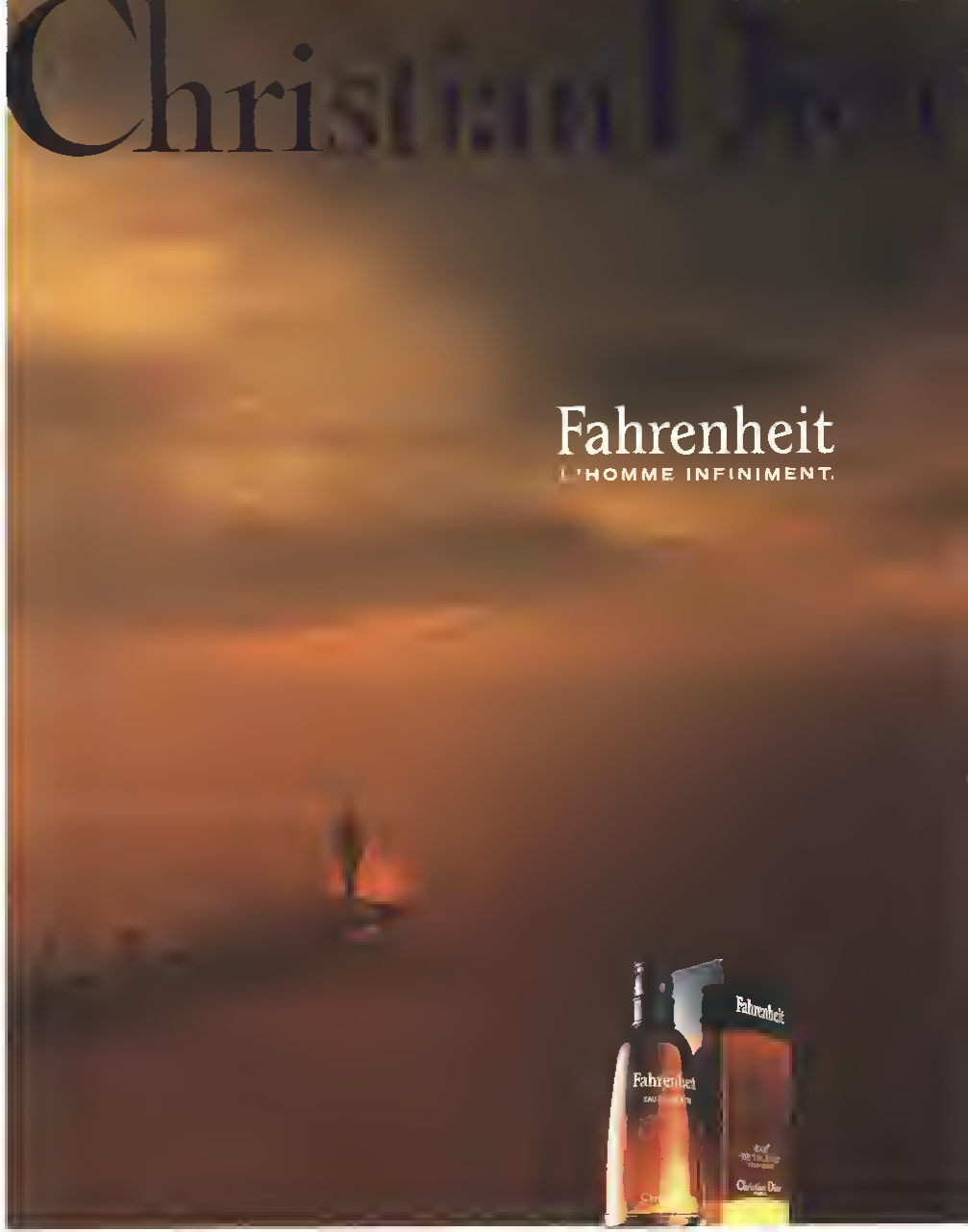
Under heavy security behind an eight-foot-high mesh steel fence topped with rusty barbed wire, the Soviet inspectors monitor three exits from the Hercules plant, which stopped building the Pershing motors three years ago. Meanwhile, in Votkinsk, Udmurt, about 950 km east of Moscow, American inspectors carry out similar duties, monitoring the plant where SS-20 intermediate-range missiles were built.

Before the Soviets arrived in Utah in July, 1988, local citizens were openly fearful that they would spread communism throughout the region. Said Craig Dearing, president of West Jordan's Chamber of Commerce: "The residents thought their children would be kidnapped and recruited for the KGB." But the Soviets have eased those concerns—and even managed to make new friends.

In the company of ever-present American escorts, the Soviet team has watched calf-roping at the Western Stampede rodeo, made hamburger patties at McDonald's, given speeches on the Rotary Club circuit and met with schoolchildren throughout the valley. They have also chatted with curious neighbors in West Jordan through the wrought-iron railing that surrounds their housing compound. "It is not easy to make people love us," said Soviet inspector Vladimir Akimov. "But it is very easy to make them respect us."

Hospitality: At Jobbers Odd Lot, a discount surplus store, the wide-eyed Soviets buy up quantities of 79-cent digital watches, 59-cent pantyhose and cheap costume jewelry. Said chief cashier Anthony Bourdon: "Their government was the enemy and the evil empire. But the people, they are just like us." At Albertson's grocery store, where the Soviets marvel at the quantity of fresh produce, cashier Tracy Carter said: "I expected them to be mean and ignorant. But they are really nice. I'd like to know about their way of living."

All across the country, many Americans have come to the same conclusion. Last April, James Krivich, a 62-year-old retired high school principal, took part in a cultural ex-



change between citizens of Atlanta and Tbilisi, its sister city in Soviet Georgia. While the 250 visiting Soviets enjoyed traditional southern hospitality, Krivich and 300 other Americans were equally impressed by their reception in Tbilisi. "I have been on five continents and I have never met people as warm and sharing as the people of Tbilisi," said Krivich. He said that his hosts, an architect, his engineer wife and their four children, presented him with books and a silver cossack's dagger that "must have cost them more than a week's salary."

Hersh: In Missoula, Mont., 58-year-old Sam Reynolds has charted the changing attitude of the local citizenry towards the Soviet Union for more than two decades. In charge of the editorial page of *The Missoulian* daily newspaper from 1964 to 1988, Reynolds says that harsh perceptions of the Soviets "began to change with Gorbachev, and especially when the Soviets pulled out of Afghanistan." He added, "It was their Vietnam, and I saw a great deal of sympathy for them, as if we recognized that their power as a superpower was no greater than ours."



MARC PHOTOGRAPHY

Healy at McCarthy memorial: a chorus of unabashed anticommunism

In fact, many Americans were eagerly awaiting the arrival of Gorbachev in Washington this week. In the capital, bookstores increased their stock of literature on the Soviet leader. Local shops offered everything from Gorbachev slippers to busts of the balding peasant's son from the Caucasus. Masks were a hot-selling item. "The Gorby mask has done really well," said Stanley Cohen of Al's Magic Shop. "I'm out of them right now. He's popular, but he's no Richard Nixon"—a reference to the satirical ski-nosed masks of the former president.

Huge crowds are expected to greet Gorbachev when he stops briefly in Minnesota and California at week's end. Said Jody Powell, the former White House spokesman for President Jimmy Carter: "It's pretty clear the people of this country do sense the tremendous possibilities [Gorbachev] represents." Added Powell, "If he can pull it off, things are going to be a lot better for the world."

But, despite decreasing superpower tensions, lingering doubts about Gorbachev's intentions remain. In Magna, many of the Hercules plant workers with access to top-secret technical information are openly suspicious of the Kremlin. Said Myrl Slater, program manager for the INF agreement at Hercules, "The Soviets are out to gain advantage over us and they would still attack us if they could." As well, Slater said that the Soviet inspectors could be spying on the plant and sending valuable technical information back to Moscow. Added Eric Santistevan, a missile-propellant production supervisor: "You would be naive to think that they weren't intelligence or KGB officers."

Still, outside the plant gates, a more upbeat mood seems to prevail. Elize Lazar, director of the Soviet-Utah Awareness Program, which has helped schools develop an educational package on the Soviet Union, says that "attitudes have changed" among the Soviet visitors and their hosts. "The more contact they have," said Lazar, "the better it is for us and for them." Although some mistrust clearly remains, the coming of the Russians has, for many Americans, been a decidedly enriching experience.

HILARY MACKENZIE *in Magna with correspondents' reports*

SOME STILL SEE RED

Each year on the Sunday closest to May 2, the date of Senator Joseph McCarthy's death in 1957, a few dozen mourners have gathered at his grave site in his home town of Appleton, Wis. This year, on a bluff on the banks of the Fox River, Cletus Healy, a Roman Catholic priest, led the faithful in a chorus of unabashed anticommunism that rejected any lessening of America's vigilance towards Moscow. To his opponents, McCarthy was a ruthless demagogue who led a witch-hunt for alleged Communist infiltrators in government in the early 1950s, destroying the careers of hundreds of innocent Americans. But to the Appleton mourners, he was a heroic patriot. And his message, they say, is still valid. "Things have changed," said James Johnson, vice-president of the Senator Joseph R. McCarthy Educational Foundation, which organizes the memorial. "But the Soviets still have many people in the Gulag. Joe McCarthy was right."

So-called Gorbymania, the wave of popular adulation that follows Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on his Western visits, has clearly not struck all points on the American political spectrum. Staunch anticommunism remains an article of faith among such mainstream conservatives as Republican Senator Jesse Helms. And, until last fall, even President George Bush advocated extreme caution in the face of Soviet reform policies. But bedrock anticommunism is most evident on the political fringe, among the 600 McCarthyites and organizations that include the John Birch Society, which has an estimated 50,000 members dedicated to fighting communism.

John McManus, a spokesman for the Appleton-based Birch Society, says that the organization is winning new converts who are skeptical of Gorbachev and of U.S. plans to aid the Soviet Union and the still-suspect Eastern European states. That aid, said McManus, the featured speaker at last month's McCarthy memorial, is being promoted by subversives in government "hell-bound on creating a one-world socialist system."

McManus maintains that the campaign to stop McCarthy, culminating in December, 1954, when his Senate colleagues officially censured him, began because he was on the trail of just such subversives. The questions about McCarthy's demise go even further. For the annual memorial, organizers erect a placard with the senator's death certificate. Issued by Bethesda Naval Hospital near Washington, it cites "hepatitis, acute, cause unknown," and someone has circled the words "cause unknown" in red ink. Although McCarthy was known as a heavy drinker, McManus said darkly, "I wouldn't be surprised to find something fishy about it." In the minds of some Americans, there is no underestimating the power of the Red Menace.

MARY NEMETH

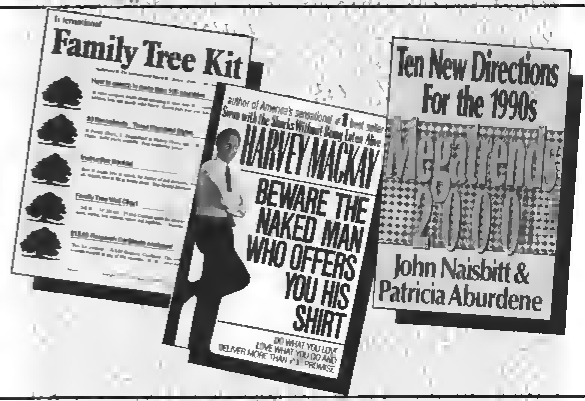
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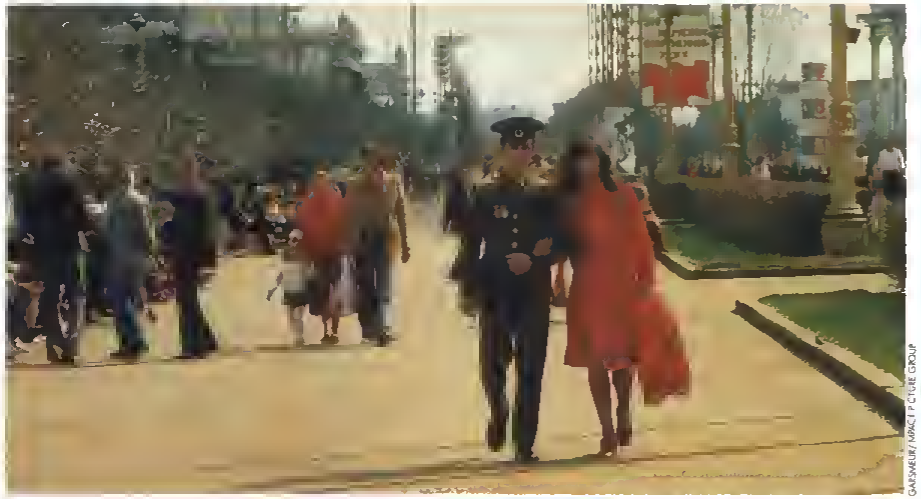


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Moscow street scene: many young Soviets have a liking for American rok 'n' rol moozeek and video casyetz

LOOKING TO THE WEST

SOVIETS ARE STUDYING AMERICAN VALUES

Alexander Androshin says that, for the past 15 months, his impressions of the United States have been dominated by the memory of its grocery stores. "When I first saw one," said Androshin with a broad smile, "I was convinced it was a propaganda trick." In February, 1989, Androshin, a journalist now living in the northern Siberian city of Magadan, was one of 90 Soviets who spent 10 days visiting Anchorage, a city of 225,000 in south-central Alaska. Although Magadan and Anchorage, 3,200 km apart, share similar geographical and climatic conditions, Androshin says that he experienced the stunning contrast between Magadan's sparsely stocked food stores and the bountiful shelves of an Anchorage Shop 'n' Save. In the age of *glasnost*, Androshin also saw, with evident delight, the benefits of closer relations between Moscow and Washington. "I discovered that there is a great deal we can learn from our American neighbors," he said. "And we could perhaps teach them something as well."

Since Mikhail Gorbachev's ascent to power in 1985, the long-standing attitude of ordinary Soviets towards their American counterparts has changed dramatically. Although an ambivalent mix of suspicion and envy is still evident, and old-style Communists continue to cling to their hard anti-Washington line, many Soviets have found a lot to like among the newly accessible Americans. The Kremlin itself has led the way, not only toning down its anti-American rhetoric but also introducing Western political and economic ideas. And while Soviets have long shown fascination with American movie and pop-music icons, many are now studying Western values—and questioning their own. The U.S. government, said Alexander Ringaus, a 33-year-old photographer in Moscow, "thinks a lot more of its people than our government thinks of us." He added, "They know how to live better than us."

Goods: Most Soviets have long recognized the superior quality of Western, and particularly American, consumer goods over their own. Now, young Soviets have to pay as much as 300 rubles, or $600, on Moscow's black market for a pair of much-coveted, American-made Levi's brand blue jeans, and up to $60 for a pack of Marlboro cigarettes. "From what I see on television," said Tanya Rodina, an 18-year-old college student in Moscow, "you cannot even compare the living standards of the two countries." But Rodina says that she continues to accept the Soviets' traditional view that their system provides better guarantees of equality and social services than the Americans'. She added, "As for such notions as mercy and charity, it is better in the Soviet Union."

Still, Gorbachev's embrace of Western concepts has sent an unmistakable message to Soviet citizens. Politicians in Moscow privately acknowledge that the country's revamped political structure, including a congress, a second, smaller legislature and an office of president, is loosely modelled after the American House of Representatives, Senate and presidency. And as Gorbachev attempts to revive the nation's moribund economy, senior aides have publicly called on Western countries to provide both money and expertise. At a meeting in early May with Western economists and government officials, Stanislav Shatalin, Gorbachev's senior economic adviser, declared, "Without the co-operation of the West, we simply cannot build a market economy."

Many new-wave Soviet economists now say that studying in the United States is essential to their training. Last year, the government of Ukraine helped sponsor the launch of the Ukrainian School of International Business, the republic's first-ever business school. As part of preparations, the school's dean, Sergei Berezo-



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AN AMBIVALENT MIX OF SUSPICION AND ENVY STILL REMAINS

venko, who speaks fluent English, spent nine months studying at New York City's Columbia University Graduate School of Business. Declared Berezovenko: "The Americans have a vigor and no-nonsense approach to business practices that I find invigorating."

That enthusiasm has also spilled over into the vocabulary of the country's growing class of entrepreneurs. Soviet schools report that record numbers of students are taking English courses, and middle-class Muscovites, adopting forms of English words into their everyday conversation in Russian, now refer to *biznissmen*.

Rock: Many young Russians, meanwhile, delight in using words that are equally familiar to North American youth, they listen to *rok 'n' rol moozeek* and rent *video casyetz*. They also wear buttons with photographs of such North American stars as Madonna, Michael Jackson and the group Bon Jovi. A rock concert last August in Moscow, featuring mostly American groups, drew more than 70,000 wildly cheering spectators. Even in Magadan, which has been formally closed to most Westerners since 1948, one of the most popular local bands performs English-language songs by American rocker Billy Joel. The lead singer, who does not speak any English, memorized the lyrics by repeatedly listening to a bootleg album.

On Moscow's flourishing black market in American video cassettes, two of the biggest attractions are action-film stars Sylvester Stallone and Arnold Schwarzenegger. Paradoxically, many young Muscovites say that they enjoyed the film *Rambo III*, in which Stallone takes on villainous Soviet army troops in Afghanistan. But they say that they disliked the movie *Red Heat*, in which Austrian-born Schwarzenegger plays a heroic Soviet policeman sent to the United States. Declared an 18-year-old Moscow student: "We could not believe any of our police could be as good as that."

Many older Soviets say that those attitudes reflect a disturbing trend among the country's young people. Under *glasnost*, the country's actions since the 1917 revolution have been subjected to intense and critical scrutiny. The studies, initially welcomed, have now provoked a backlash among Soviets who argue that the criticisms are no longer constructive. "I do not see that we must tear apart the past in order to build our future," said Vladimir Borodin, a 66-year-old retired veteran of the Second World War. "Why must we now say we do nothing as well as the Americans?"

That frustration is one reminder of the dramatic turnabout in Soviet foreign policy under Gorbachev. With previous Soviet leaders, public denunciations of U.S. policies and the American way of life were commonplace. Nikita Khrushchev, who died in 1971 and is now remembered in the Soviet Union as a reformer, earned notoriety in the United States when he told Westerners in 1956, "We will bury you." One Moscow professor recently told *Maclean's* that, when he was in university, "we used to rate the state of relations with the United States by how many adjectives were used to denounce it. If Americans were 'warmongers and 'imperialists,' things were pretty bad, but if they were only 'imperialists,' that meant we were getting along well."

In the past, both Soviets and Americans shared an apparent fondness for such tough talk. Alexander Yakovlev, the former ambassador to Canada who is now the Politburo member in charge of foreign policy, studied briefly at Columbia University in 1959, and classmates recall that he was often harassed by anti-Soviet Americans. Yakovlev has said that when some Americans learned that he was from Moscow, they "appeared surprised that I did not have horns."

Yakovlev tried to set the record straight in a 1984 book, *On the Edge of the Abyss*. "The U.S.," he wrote, "is a nation governed more by deception and demagoguery than by conviction, more by force than the law, more by deadening habits and traditions than by respect for and interest in whatever is new, more by hatred, suspicion and intolerance than by the ability to recognize there may be another way of life and thought." Despite that scathing rhetoric, Yakovlev, a close adviser to Gorbachev, is now regarded as a leading reformer.

Offended: At times, leaders of the respective governments have seemed oblivious to the effect of their criticisms upon ordinary people. Many Soviets say that they were personally offended by President Ronald Reagan's 1983 description of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire." When Reagan publicly repudiated that remark at his 1988 Moscow summit with Gorbachev, many Soviets were clearly pleased. Declared Tanya Secova, a student at Moscow State University: "I wonder if Mr. Reagan ever understood how hurt many of us were."

Now, many Soviets seem delighted by the fact that the two countries are drawing closer together—a process that Alexander Alexandrov plainly understands. Alexandrov, a Soviet cosmonaut, has twice spent more than a month in space on board the Mir orbital spacecraft. After his last trip three years ago, he travelled to Washington, where he met with several American astronauts.

In an interview with *Maclean's*, he recalled that he and his American counterparts were initially suspicious of one another. But, he said, "when we began to share experiences, we talked about how when you are up there, in the sky, the space above you is endless, the Earth below is very small, and the borders are invisible." Added Alexandrov: "The Americans and I realized that the differences between us are relatively tiny, and the challenges facing us are great." Many Soviets clearly hope that the two countries will leave their differences behind—and jointly meet the challenges ahead.



SOUZA/WHITE HOUSE PICTURE GROUP

Gorbachev and Reagan in Red Square in 1988: no more 'evil empire'

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH *with* *ROSEMARIE BOYLE in Moscow*

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Military police who trained at Fort McClellan and served in Panama: roulette

THE HIGH COST OF PEACE

DEFENCE CUTS THREATEN LIVELIHOODS

No one was cheering the end of the Cold War in the seedy, wood-panelled bar of American Veterans Post 77 in Anniston, Ala. With military cutbacks already affecting nearby Fort McClellan, membership in the post has fallen to 550 from a 1987 peak of 2,000 active and retired army personnel. And as the men and women downed their beers and chasers at Formica-topped tables and reflected on the boom years of East-West confrontation, Anniston's future appeared even bleaker. Fort McClellan, one of the largest employers in the area and home to the U.S. army's military police and chemical training schools, is threatened with possible closure by 1993. In anticipation, real estate values have plummeted and businesses have frozen all expansion plans. Retired Master Sgt. Jean Medeiros, who, like some 25,000 other veterans in the area, uses the military hospital and the subsidized PX supermarket, admitted that she prays for a new international crisis to head off the impending closure. "I'm hoping they'll start a buildup of chemical weapons," she said, "so that we can keep this place open."

Anniston's plight is similar to that of scores of communities throughout the United States that are heavily dependent upon the so-called military-industrial complex for their livelihood. With communism crumbling and the Warsaw Pact collapsing, the Pentagon in January issued a list of more than 150 domestic and overseas bases that are candidates for cutbacks or complete closure—the latter group including Fort McClellan. In all, Defence Secretary Richard Cheney has proposed spending reductions of 10 per cent, or $210 billion, between 1992 and 1997. But many members of Congress argue that Cheney's so-called peace dividend is not enough. Some informed insiders maintain that the White House will ultimately have to accept cuts totalling $526 billion, or 25 per cent, over the same period.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon has embarked on a radical re-examination and redefinition of its role. Experts say that, in the future, defence planners are likely to place less emphasis on preparing for a superpower conflict and more on defending U.S. interests in the Third World and combatting the international drug menace. Such changes are spreading pain and confusion throughout the U.S. military. Said Ronald Fraser, an analyst at Washington's nongovernmental Center for Defense Information: "There is chaos in the Pentagon as military planners struggle to come up with a long-term defence strategy."

Mournful: But in communities like Anniston (population 30,000), concerns are more down-to-earth. In the veterans hall, as a lone jukebox spun out country tunes and pool tables lay unused, 31-year-old army widow Kathie Fagg wondered out loud about the fate of Anniston. "The only thing that keeps this town going is the fort," she said mournfully. "It'll become a ghost town." Retired army Chief Warrant Officer Larry Smith wagged a finger and warned: "This is only the beginning. We're into a different world. Wars aren't going to be fought with weapons, but with economies and marketing."

Anniston's defenders argue that Fort McClellan should survive the defence cutbacks because it trains military police for small-scale conflicts. Said Representative Glen Browder, the local Democratic congressman: "The military police school is not aimed at East-West nuclear war. We are looking at low- to mid-intensity situations like Panama and Hurricane Hugo." In Anniston, officers and civilians alike accuse the politicians in Washington of playing Russian roulette with their lives. A group of local residents has started a letter-writing campaign and presented a 60,000-signature petition to Cheney to try to save the fort. Addressing a meeting of that group in February, Alabama Gov. Guy Hunt declared, "The decision to close the base should not be made by some pencil pusher at the Pentagon."

Outside Fort McClellan's Baltzell Gates, 59-year-old Ken Dowdy runs a taxi service that ferries recruits to the string of chesp motels, fast-food restaurants and shopping strips that service the camp. "It's going to be real bad," he said. "In the taxi business, we know where we carry people and how much money they spend." He added that he did not know how he would survive if Fort McClellan closes after a scheduled decision is announced next month. Said Dowdy: "The uncertainty has cut our business in half."

Already, the bold letters "Anniston—The Model City" that hang in a window of a vacant building on Main Street reflect a bygone era. More realistically, a new sign underneath advertises "Space for rent." Next door, a furniture business tries to lure customers with a

huge notice: "Prices slashed." During the boom years of President Ronald Reagan's military buildup in the 1980s, Fort McClellan's 9,581 military and civilian population pumped up to $655 million a year into the local economy. If the fort closes, analysts say, about 10,400 people, or one in five of the local labor force, could lose their jobs. And the real estate market could collapse.

An estimated 38 per cent of Calhoun County's home sales are directly tied to the military, and another 10 per cent indirectly. The fort, explained retired military police colonel Richard Martin, "has been a magnet for retired army people who have come to live in and around Anniston for access to the PX and the military hospital and the social life that goes with an army town." Property values (the average modest house costs about $72,000) have dropped by 10 per cent since January. That, in turn, has had a ripple effect throughout the local economy. Said attorney A. W. Bolt: "There's not a man, woman or child within a 50-mile radius who won't feel it."

To make matters worse, Anniston has suffered a second blow: its army depot is under orders to lay off 500 of its 4,400 employees by October. The depot, secured within a double eight-foot-high steel-mesh fence topped with barbed wire and patrolled around the clock, is the country's only maintenance and refitting plant for heavy tanks like the M-48, M-60 and the newer, 70-ton M-1, and for the sleek anti-tank Tow, Cobra, Dragon and Hellfire missiles. It also stores deadly nerve and mustard gases that are scheduled for destruction by 1998 under a congressional order. Morale has slumped markedly among depot workers, causing many to leave while they can still get skilled jobs locally. "People have seen the writing on the wall," said Sarah Whatley, chief of manpower and management for the depot. Added Billy Bickerstaff, the depot's chief of recruitment and placement: "We had a war plan, not a peace plan."



US ARMY

Tanks roll by roaming buffalo at Anniston army depot: workers' morale has slumped markedly

The peace dividend has left an indelible mark on the 29.4-square-mile depot site. The vast machine shop, where tanks are stripped of their oily engines, 385-gallon fuel tanks, turrets and 6,000 parts before being repaired and reassembled, is working well below capacity. At its peak, 600 mechanics, welders and machinists moved six tanks daily to the test site. Now, 350 mechanics move one or two tanks a day. Said congressman Browder: "With the collapse of communism, at first you cheer. Then you realize what it means for your home town, and it's a sobering experience." As the defence cuts bite more deeply, that sentiment will no doubt be echoed by elected officials and ordinary citizens across the country.

HILARY MACKENZIE *in Anniston*

CUTTING BACK ON DEFENCE

While tensions between the two superpowers continue to ease, conflicting signals from inside the Pentagon indicate turmoil within the U.S. military. As defence department pragmatists plan for a future in which full-scale conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union seems highly unlikely, others clearly think differently. One senior Pentagon official, on condition of anonymity, told *Maclean's* last week that the media are placing too much emphasis on the idea that the U.S. military will be restructured and that its role will change. Despite the democratization of Eastern Europe and the crumbling of the Warsaw Pact, he said, "the Soviet Union remains a superpower and must be considered potentially threatening."

Plainly, he and other like-minded officials are concerned with the extent of the cuts announced by the Bush administration, pending congressional approval. Those include:

The army: Six divisions would be disbanded, reducing the active duty force to 580,000 from 781,000 by 1997 and the reserve force to 645,000 from 776,000.

The air force: Only 75 B-2 Stealth bombers would be purchased, instead of the 132 that the air force wanted, and only 110 giant C-17 transport aircraft instead of 220. Production of a new interceptor fighter and a new ground attack aircraft would be deferred. Overall, the number of active-duty personnel would be reduced to 469,665 from 509,768.

The navy: The number of aircraft-carrier battle groups would be reduced to 12 from 14 and only 18 Trident nuclear submarines would be built, instead of 21. The navy's overall strength would be reduced to 488 vessels from 542 by 1997, sinking the Reagan-era objective of a 600-ship navy and reducing the number of naval personnel by 50,000 and marine personnel by 38,000.

The fiscal 1991 budget proposals would hold defence spending in the year beginning next October to $364 billion, a 2.6-per-cent reduction after allowing for inflation. But many critics in and out of Congress are calling for much deeper cuts. Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate armed services committee, advocates additional reductions of $19 billion to $21 billion in 1991, and he has said that the number of U.S. troops in Europe might be reduced to 75,000 by 1995, instead of the 36-per-cent reduction to 195,000 Bush has proposed.

As well, Admiral Stansfield Turner, who was CIA director under President Jimmy Carter, told *Maclean's* last week: "We need to go much further. We can afford to make deep cuts in hardware now because with the huge nuclear stockpile we have, there is no way we are going to leave ourselves vulnerable." At the Pentagon, the battle over peace is clearly just beginning.

WILLIAM LOWTHER *in Washington*

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AN ARMY IN RETREAT

THE SOVIET MILITARY IS IN CRISIS

As he stood with more than 30,000 other spectators in the bright spring sun of Moscow's Red Square, Vasily Borze's pride and pleasure were unmistakable All around him, hundreds of red banners and flags fluttered in a stiff breeze Above, on a podium atop Lenin's tomb, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and other members of the ruling Politburo stood at attention Through the centre of the square, in an impressive but ominous procession that lasted more than 30 minutes, was the object of their attention, a parade of Soviet weapons used over the past 50 years. The weapons ranged from obsolete Katyusha rocket launchers from the Second World War to modern-day T-80 tanks For Borze, a veteran of the war who is now in his 70s, the May 9 ceremony, commemorating the 45th anniversary of Nazi Germany's surrender, held both past and present significance. "We will always need a strong army," he declared. "It was true then, and it is true now."

Despite such sentiments, the meticulously orchestrated celebrations could not hide signs that the Soviet military faces problems of unprecedented proportions. Already battered by the grinding, nine-year involvement in support of the Afghan government's war on rebel forces, which left an estimated 15,000 Soviets dead, the Red Army is feeling the effects of the sweeping changes set off by President Mikhail Gorbachev. The collapse of Eastern European communism and the crumbling of the Warsaw Pact have left Soviet defence policy in shambles At the same time, there is ample evidence of plummeting morale within the Soviet ranks a steep rise in crime, record levels of desertion and draft evasion, and growing inter-ethnic strife Experts note that, with the military's influence in apparent decline within the Kremlin, the generals have been trying to reassert themselves in recent months—pressure that is widely believed to have slowed progress towards a strategic arms reduction treaty

There have even been suggestions that the military's moves have gone beyond political pressure In early May, Alexander Yakovlev, a Politburo member regarded as Gorbachev's closest adviser, took the unusual step of denying widespread rumors that factions of the army plotted last February to overthrow Gorbachev. The rumors alleged that more than 4,000 soldiers gathered less than 100 km outside Moscow with the goal of taking over the Kremlin But Yakovlev insisted, "We have no facts to suggest that the army is working in any way at all against *perestroika*."



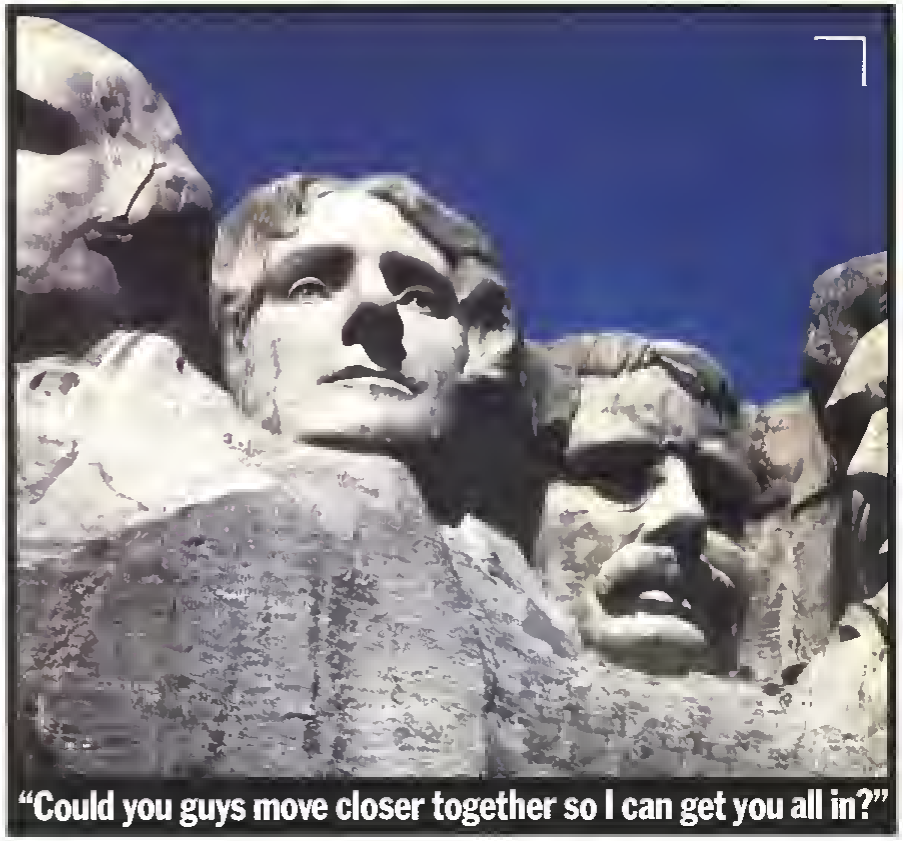
BURLAND / BIDERMANN SABA

Soviet armed forces in protective chemical-warfare gear: toughness and discipline under fire

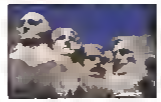
Revered: Even the possibility of such subversion is painful in a country that has long prided itself on its armed forces Before the Soviet revolution in 1917, the elite regarded army service as one of czarist Russia's most revered professions Members of the marchy often held high-ranking military posts Since the revolution, the exploits of the Soviet armed forces have held a prominent place in the country's folklore and official history Such cities as Moscow and Leningrad, which underwent long sieges during the Second World War, are formally designated "Hero Cities " Veterans of that conflict, which the Soviets call the Great Patriotic War, usually wear their medals on their civilian clothes and receive special privileges and respect unmatched in the West. Said Vassili Gorolov, a retired 74-year-old war veteran "Every day, people still show me they appreciate the things we did."

Now, the country's reputation as a superpower is partly built on the fact that, with an estimated 5 3 million members, the Soviet armed forces are the largest in the world. Western experts openly admire Soviet troops for their toughness and discipline under fire And they say that, although Soviet arms lack the technical sophistication of electronically controlled Western weapons, they have their own distinctive merits. The Soviet TC-70 tank is uncomfortable and unwieldy, but it has seven times the range of some tanks used by Western countries The major difference between many Western and Soviet weapons, said a military attaché at a Western embassy in Moscow, is that "theirs are made to kill with—and ours look good while you die in them."

Still, in a recent survey conducted by the government daily newspaper *Izvestia*, 36 per cent of army officers polled said that they were



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RECENTLY, THE GENERALS HAVE BEEN TRYING TO REASSERT THEMSELVES

worried by the military's decline in prestige among the Soviet public. And the army's internal problems run deep. The bitter inter-ethnic conflicts that have struck the civilian population have infected the military as well. For years, the armed forces' reputation for efficiency has been based on the high calibre of its officer corps, which is almost entirely composed of unilingual, ethnic Russians. Now, many of the new conscripts are non-Russians from republics in Central Asia and the Transcaucasian republics. A recent report by the armed forces' political department said that 10 to 13 per cent of such recruits do not speak Russian at all, and that the number of conscripts with "inadequate" knowledge of Russian is "increasing at an alarming rate."

Conscripts: Defence ministry officials say that inter-ethnic conflicts are largely to blame for a sharp increase in crime within the armed forces—including the murders of 59 officers last year. They also acknowledge that many of the leaders of pitched battles between residents of the republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia earlier this year were army veterans who had learned their fighting skills during service in Afghanistan. For those reasons, ethnic Russian recruits often ask that they be allowed to serve together, which further heightens the distinctions between ethnic groups.

Army officers must also cope with changing attitudes towards military service among the young people that they conscript. Acknowledged Gen. Mikhail Moiseev, chief of the armed forces general staff: "Young men are less willing to do their military duty." At present, all Soviet males over the age of 18 must serve a two-year term in the armed forces unless they are exempted for physical, educational or professional reasons. Until recently, most Soviets accepted conscription without question. But, two months ago, the Soviet defence ministry released figures showing that more than 6,000 draftees had refused to report for service in 1989, up from about 800 in 1985. The number of refusals is likely to increase even more dramatically this year because almost half of the country's 15 republican legislatures have said that they will assist any of their residents who refuse to enlist.

Those who do join sometimes find themselves living in conditions that are uncomfortable or even dehumanizing. "Army people," the monthly Moscow magazine *Gorizont* declared recently, "consistently believe that a man is some dull, underdeveloped, crude animal, or must become one during his term of service." In recent years, senior Soviet officials have begun taking steps to eliminate the notorious ritualistic practice of *dedovschina*, the brutal bullying of new recruits by their more experienced counterparts. The practice officially came to light in a highly publicized case in 1988 in which a 19-year-old Lithuanian conscript was beaten and gang-raped by a group of other soldiers. After they stopped, he seized two pistols and shot and killed seven soldiers and a civilian. The soldier, whom the army only identifies as "Arthur," is now in a psychiatric hospital, where an official describes him as having "lost touch with reality."

But even soldiers who escape such extraordinary ordeals can face demoralizing hardships.



Soviet Second World War veteran at Victory Day festivities: a history of pride

The pullout of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia and Hungary in the past six months, coupled with the country's already chronic housing shortage, has left an estimated 250,000 soldiers without any formal residence. And despite efforts to ease regulations concerning the conduct of soldiers, they face an often Byzantine set of restrictions. Among them: servicemen cannot bathe alone, or sublet their own apartments while they are posted elsewhere.

Deterrent: For those reasons, some Soviet military officials now argue that the country would be better served by a smaller army made up entirely of volunteers. That, they maintain, would result in better morale, lower costs and a decrease in internal tensions. But most senior Soviet officials, echoing the rhetoric of their counterparts in the Pentagon, contend that a strong military provides a deterrent against aggression. Declared Moiseev of the general staff: "If you once fall behind, you will not be able to keep up with your opponents."

Still, it seems clear that the decline in superpower tensions will result in some cuts in the military's size and budget. Prof. Igor Yudin, a prominent economist, recently told the daily newspaper *Trud* that "the international situation allows us to cut down to perhaps 1.5 million to two million men." The collapse of the Warsaw Pact will also affect military strategy. Because the Soviets can no longer count on military co-operation from Eastern Europe, Col.-Gen. Grigory Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the Soviet general staff, said that Moscow will now base its military policy on "territorial rather than extraterritorial principles." That, said a Western military attaché, "is their careful way of saying they now think defensively instead of offensively."

But no matter what changes the army undergoes, both Soviet and Western observers say that other countries would do well to remember history. Declared Artyom Borovik, a journalist who has written several critical articles about the army: "Everyone from Napoleon to Adolf Hitler has looked at our army, laughed—and then learned a lesson." Added Borovik: "It would still be a mistake to laugh at them now." In the warming climate of a new era of international relations, that is a lesson better remembered than learned again.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH *with* *ROSEMARIE BOYLE in Moscow*

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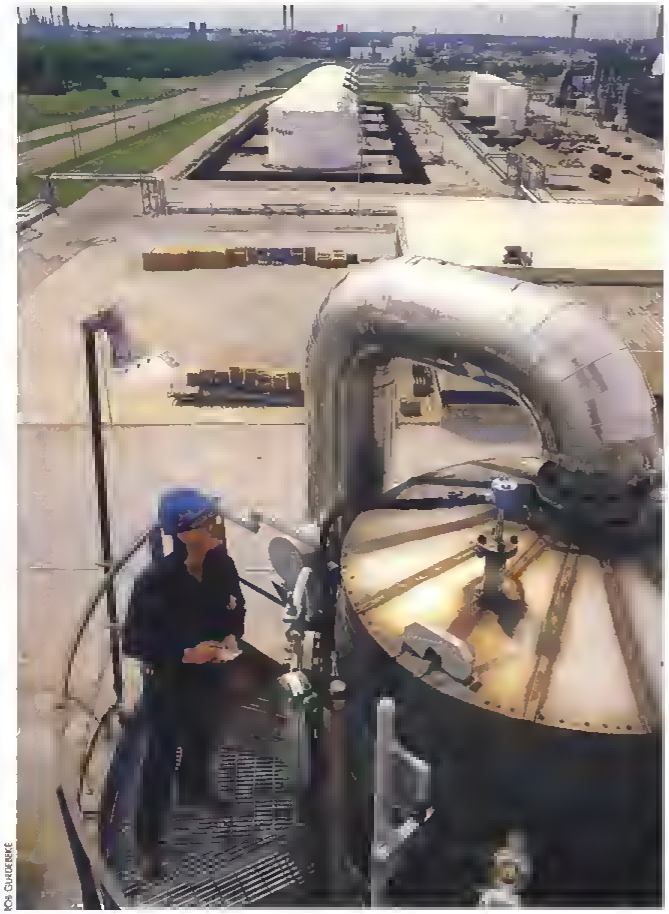
POSTPONING NOVA'S DREAM

A CRUSHING DEBT HAS FORCED NOVA CORP. TO JOIN IN THE OIL-AND-GAS INDUSTRY'S GREAT ASSET SELLOFF

Robert (Bob) Blair has rarely kept his ambitions secret. One of Calgary's most outspoken oilmen, the determined, 60-year-old chairman of Nova Corp. is also an ardent nationalist who has frequently maintained that Canada could be the home of a leading multinational petrochemical conglomerate. Over the past two decades, Blair, a chemical engineer who joined Nova as an executive vice-president, has transformed a staid provincial gas utility, the Alberta Gas Trunk Line Co. Ltd., into a $7.9-billion giant with worldwide holdings in petroleum, petrochemicals, pipelines and natural-gas marketing. In pursuit of his petrochemical dream, Blair staged one of the biggest and most hotly contested corporate raids in Canadian history. In September, 1988, Nova spent $1.9 billion to win control of Sarnia, Ont.-based Polysar Energy and Chemical Corp. But, last week, he had to retreat. He was a symbol of the difficulties currently facing oilmen. In the Alberta oilfields and beyond, sales of assets are accelerating. Last year, about $8.4 billion in Alberta oil properties changed hands, compared with $3.7 billion in 1988.

So far this year, nearly another $4.5 billion in assets have been put up for sale. Recently, all six partners in the massive Syncrude Canada oil-sands project near Fort McMurray, Alta., said that they want to sell their holdings. As well, Canada's three largest oil firms—Imperial Oil Ltd., which took over Texaco Canada Inc. last year, Petro-Canada and Shell Canada Ltd.—are preparing to sell refineries, service stations and distribution facilities across Canada. Industry executives say that the sales are a result of punishing interest costs, the prospect of a recession and oil prices that have fallen below $26 per barrel following a severe drop in 1986. Said Norman Gish, chairman of the Independent Petroleum Association of Canada, which represents 175 small producers: "I don't recall so many properties ever being on the market."

In Nova's case, a debt of $3.6 billion, caused by the acquisition, led the company to sell Polysar's prized asset, its synthetic-rubber manufacturing division, to Bayer AG of West Germany for $1.48 billion. Said Blair: "We concluded that we were doing too many big things at the same time." Reaction to the sale was swift and harsh. Bernard Isautier, Polysar's then-chief executive, who battled Blair to retain control of Polysar, said that the resale proved that Blair had made a mistake. Added Isautier: "The deal has worked out badly both from the financial point of view and the national interest." Federal and Ontario politicians and union leaders at Polysar also said that they doubted that the sale, which has to be approved by Investment Canada and German regulators before its scheduled close in September, was in Canada's best interests.



JOE GUDERSKE

Polysar's Sarnia rubber plant: seeking guarantees for critical research jobs

Other petroleum executives are undertaking similar wrenching corporate redefinitions. Newly appointed Petro-Canada president James Stanford, who has more than $300 million in assets up for sale as the Crown corporation slims down in anticipation of privatization later this year, said: "The goal now is to do the things we know well—and not to continue carrying properties in which we hold only small interests. This is industry-wide, a shuffling of the cards. But, very probably, individual companies and the industry too will emerge in better shape."

Clearly, that is a goal that both Blair and his competitors are striving to reach. Facing low oil and gas prices, high interest rates and an uncertain economy, Canada's petroleum industry is in the midst of an unprecedented asset selloff.

Nova was apparently under financial pressure to sell, but critics said last week that selling Polysar's rubber division to a foreign buyer could endanger Canadian jobs. Ontario Industry, Trade and Technology Minister Monte Kwinter and federal MPs Kenneth James, a Tory from the Sarnia, Ont., area, and Ralph Ferguson, from the London, Ont., area, said that they will urge Investment Canada to obtain job-security guarantees from Bayer, especially in the division's critical research-and-development facilities. Kenneth Glassco, president of the Energy and Chemical Workers Union in Sarnia, said that the sale will affect all of Polysar's 1,400 unionized production workers.

Most of those workers are employed in the rubber division, while the others work at Polysar's polyethylene, ethylene and styrene processing facilities, still owned by Nova. Added Glassco: "We noticed subtle changes when the ownership switched to Calgary. How will it be now that control will be changing to the other side of the world?" Meanwhile, the federal government declined comment pending Investment Canada's review.

Isautier, in turn, said that Nova's debt problems were the result of Blair's overreaching ambition and not sound financial judgment. Now the Paris-based chairman and CEO of multinational electronics giant Thomson International, Isautier said that, when Blair originally approached the Polysar board of directors in 1987, Blair promised to create a Canadian-based world leader in petrochemicals. Isautier said that, if Blair had settled for a merger with Polysar rather than a takeover, he could have achieved that goal.

Blair, however, says that he remains as much a nationalist as ever and that, even though he had to sell to a powerful global company, the sale will benefit Canada. Said Blair: "Bayer has the international scale to make the very most of the business." Indeed, Bayer spokesman Gerd Wilke said that the company plans to maintain the rubber division's operations, including the research-and-development activities, at Sarnia.



JEAN DUBERSON

Blair: worldwide holdings

And he added that the plant may even be expanded. Bayer employs 170,000 people worldwide in its chemical and health-care divisions, including 1,000 in Canada. The giant West German firm, best known as the manufacturer of Aspirin, had worldwide sales of $30.5 billion last year, giving it enough financial strength to help expand its new acquisition.

Blair defended the sale of Nova's rubber division on financial grounds. He declared: "We have a lot of business responsibilities and a lot of business opportunities, and they both take a lot of capital. We decided to take that step, reluctantly, for the strengthening of the future of the whole corporation." Many industry analysts agreed. John McKimm of Toronto-based Prudential-Bache Securities Inc. said that the sale substantially improves Nova's balance sheet by reducing its debt. But McKimm added: "Rubber was a core asset. One has to ask the question if it is wise to get out of a core asset." But like many executives in the oil industry, Blair has decided that slimming down now may allow him to expand again in future.

BARBARA WICKENS *with* **JOHN HOWSE** *in Calgary and* **MICHAEL HARRISON** *in Toronto*

Business Notes

GORDON TAKES A HIT

The Ontario Securities Commission has imposed a 10-day principal-trading ban on Gordon Capital Corp. of Toronto. The OSC handed down the decision, following a two-year-long investigation, for violations by one of the firm's leading floor traders, David Bond, of takeover provisions in the province's Securities Act. The OSC said that Gordon, one of Bay Street's most aggressive and secretive investment firms, broke the provisions of the act when it failed to inform the OSC that it had accumulated more than 10 per cent of the preferred shares in auto-parts manufacturer ITL Industries Ltd. of Toronto in 1987 and 1988. As a result, Gordon will be barred from trading shares on its own account on the Toronto Stock Exchange for 10 trading days beginning on June 18. The OSC also suspended Bond for five days during the same period. Gordon is appealing the ruling.

FOREIGN OWNERSHIP CLIMBS

Foreigners now control nearly 20 per cent of Canada's economy. Statistics Canada says that the percentage of foreign-owned business assets jumped sharply to 19.2 per cent at the beginning of 1989 from 18.2 per cent in 1987.

MEXICO'S FREE TRADERS

Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari has called for a free trade agreement with both Canada and the United States, and International Trade Minister John Crosbie said that Ottawa is interested in pursuing the Mexican initiative.

A DOMESTIC BID FOR CONSUMERS'

A Canadian offer has emerged to counter British Gas PLC's $1.1-billion purchase offer for Toronto-based Consumers' Gas Co. Ltd. Claiming that a foreign takeover of Canada's largest gas utility would not be in the national interest, ProNational Gas Inc. filed an intervention and notice of its bid with the Ontario Energy Board to block the proposed British takeover. ProNational says that it will match its British rival's price of $34 per share and then resell the shares to small Canadian investors.

MOSCOW WOOS REICHMANNS

The Soviet Union has endorsed a major project by Olympia & York Developments Ltd., owned by Toronto's Reichmann family. Support for the project followed a Moscow meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Albert Reichmann. The project includes a $250-million, 40-storey building in Moscow.



This time, the threat to Canada is terminal

BY PETER C NEWMAN

One of the enduring mysteries of the Meech Lake debate is why Prime Minister Brian Mulroney would willingly stake his career on what is by definition a no-win political issue. Nobody gains popularity by signing legal accords that voters don't understand—especially now, when so many tough economic problems are bedevilling us all.

Constitution-making has never been a top priority with Canadians: we didn't have one for the first 115 years of the country's existence and seemed to be a lot better off than we are now.

Mulroney got so bound up in the process partly because he wanted to win points in the history books by completing the process started by Pierre Trudeau in 1982, when the then-Prime Minister patriated the British North America Act—but without Quebec's agreement. The original—and highly naïve—argument that Mulroney advanced for picking up where Trudeau left off was that once Quebec was safely tucked into Canada's constitutional family, thoughts of independence would vanish once and for all.

Apart from that simplistic and outdated notion, the main reason for giving the Meech Lake accord top billing—even in a country that suddenly seems to have nothing but problems—is much more straightforward: it makes no sense not to do it.

That point of view was best articulated by Mulroney himself at a private breakfast he recently held at 24 Sussex Drive for Robert and Elizabeth Dole. Probably America's most distinguished political couple—he is the senior senator from Kansas and Senate minority leader; she served as secretary of transportation in the Reagan administration and is now secretary of labor in the Bush cabinet—they had asked the Prime Minister to explain what Meech Lake was really all about.

"Forget Canada," he told them with smug anticipation. "Let's assume that the United States decided they had to have a new constitution in 1982, and all the states met with the federal administration for an extended period of time. Finally, they did come up with a new document. But it was not endorsed by New York, California and Texas. That's approximately the breakout equivalent of Quebec's population vis-a-vis this country."

The Doles looked properly baffled how any such thing could happen.

"It gets better," Mulroney sarcastically assured them. "In those negotiations, the governors of the 50 states wound up with the power to override every provision of the American Bill of Rights and all decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court."

Elizabeth Dole, who had been a candidate for the Supreme Court of the United States, couldn't hold herself back. "Are you telling me," she asked, "that the governor of Mississippi would have been given the right to overrule Supreme Court decisions on issues of civil rights?"

"That's exactly what I'm telling you," Mulroney shot back.

"Who did this?" she demanded.

"Guess who?" was the triumphant reply. "Pierre Trudeau, the same fellow who today is demanding perfection in the Meech Lake accord!"

We are in danger of allowing this country to fall apart because there is too damn much apathy, stubbornness and plain stupidity

That little history lesson seems dated only because Meech Lake has since become less an essential constitutional deal than a symbol of all that has gone wrong with French-English relations in this country. The stubborn opposition by the premiers of New Brunswick, Manitoba and Newfoundland, Robert Bourassa's militant language bill, plus Lucien Bouchard's theatrical exit have turned the debate into a national emergency. Canada's future existence suddenly is at stake.

Whether or not Mulroney manages to win approval for the accord, this country is moving towards negotiating a very different internal arrangement which will not only alter our trading patterns but shuffle the way we live together. That wouldn't be so bad if out of it all emerged a viable entity among the 10 provinces and Ottawa capable of withstanding absorption by the United States.

My fear is not that Quebec may win too much clout out of this new-style Confederation, but that bigots on both sides of the debate will set the tone of the crucial negotiations on which we are embarked. We stand in imminent danger of allowing this country to fall apart because there is too damn much apathy, stubbornness and plain stupidity to alter our institutions in time to resolve our differences.

For three decades now, ever since the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, Quebec and the rest of Canada have been dealing with one another in a series of confrontations of unequal intervals and unpredictable intensity, seeking—but never finding—the ultimate compromise. Each hopeful agreement produced its own problems without altering basic misunderstandings. We seemed chronically unable to resolve the tensions between French aspirations and English impatience.

The assumption in past negotiations was that no matter how we settled things, neither group would be free of the other, that after more than a century of living together, we could find a rational way to stay together. That is no longer true. The majority of Quebecers believe that they can advance their claims more effectively outside Confederation, or so loosely tied to the rest of the country that the link would be almost meaningless.

Quebec's position, it seems to me, can be reduced roughly to the notion that although communities can be integrated, individuals will be assimilated—so that until Quebec can become independent (or the next thing to it), efforts to encompass the province within a pan-Canadian context represent a threat. That's an understandable worry, but the problem is how to grant Quebec control over its own destiny without wrecking Canada in the process—how to create two "nations" and still have one country.

That's precisely what approval of the Meech Lake accord, together with commitments to negotiate such outstanding issues as Senate reform at a later date, will accomplish. With all its flaws, Meech is the last best resolution we're ever likely to be offered.

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Re-creating reality

A new development has tantalizing applications

Michael McGreevy says that he will walk on the planet Venus within the next two years. But he plans to do it without leaving his laboratory in California's Silicon Valley. McGreevy, a 40-year-old research scientist with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), is one of dozens of American and Japanese scientists racing to perfect a newly developed computer technology called virtual reality. The technology involves the use of computers to create full-color, three-dimensional images of everything from molecules to planetary surfaces. And rather than merely looking at the images, scientists are using headgear resembling scuba diving masks equipped with image-bearing screens to enter the so-called virtual realities and even manipulate their contents. There are also potentially tantalizing applications for the entertainment industry. Some theorists predict that people who now watch steamy TV sex videos could instead experience the sensation of participating in them.

Proponents of virtual reality contend that within 10 years, the technology will have a profound influence on the work of architects, engineers and urban planners. They will be able to translate blueprints and plans for buildings, airplanes and expressways into lifelike, 3-D images that the designers or users can simulate entering to explore and change before construction begins. Surgeons may be able to put themselves inside the human body, while other scientists will be able to explore room-sized models of molecules. Said Robert Jacobson, associate director of the Seattle-based Human Interface Technology Laboratory, which is devoted solely to developing virtual reality: "It's a fabulous idea. If it comes off, it's going to be remarkable."

But other experts predict that virtual reality could lead to the problems foreseen by Vancouver author William Gibson in his award-winning 1984 novel *Neuromancer*. The book deals with a young man in a futuristic society who becomes obsessed with a virtual-reality fantasy world called "cyberspace." Louis (Bo) Gehring, a Toronto-based computer graphics expert who is working on virtual-reality projects for the U.S. air force, said, "When you look at the impact video games have already had on kids and compare them to the quality of cyberspace, you cannot overstate the potential impact."

People who have sampled virtual reality describe it as a powerful experience. David Cohn, a senior editor with the Vancouver-based magazine *CADalyst*, a publication for specialists in computer-aided design, said that he has entered the world of virtual reality four times. Once, during a demonstration at a Boston hotel, he wore a headpiece that resembled a diving mask and rode a stationary exercise bike that was hooked up to a computer that produced images of outdoor scenes. Cohn said that when he began pedalling, he felt he had actually entered the computer-generated environment. The harder he pedalled, the faster the bike appeared to travel. When he reached 25 m.p.h., the bicycle actually left the ground in the artificial environment and he felt as though he were flying. Said Cohn: "It was wonderful. I didn't want to take off the mask."

Still, some computer scientists dismiss the technology's entertainment potential and its addictive possibilities. They maintain that it will be a valuable tool for professionals in several different fields. Jacobson said that urban planners could translate proposals for expressways into 3-D virtual-reality freeways, then change routes and simulate traffic-flow patterns as they would be now or years into the future. Said Jacobson: "You need a visceral experience in order to appreciate traffic congestion. Numbers on paper don't capture the frustration."



Cycling in the computer-generated outdoors: the sensation of participation



Experimenting with a sensor-equipped glove: steamy sex theories

Computer scientists and doctors at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill have used virtual reality to study the accuracy and impact of X-ray treatment beams used to destroy tumors in human patients. Frederick Brooks, a computer scientist at the university, said that they generated images of internal human organs. Doctors then simulated entering the artificial realities by putting on special headgear. They could then watch as computer-generated X-ray treatment beams entered the body from different directions and attacked the tumor. Brooks said that the purpose of the experiment was to determine whether doctors could aim the beams more accurately so that they would destroy the tumor without damaging other body organs.

Apart from its potential for improving medical treatment or the design of earthly structures, virtual reality could be a valuable tool in space exploration. NASA's McGreevy said that he plans to create virtual-reality images of Venus using data collected by an unmanned NASA spacecraft currently travelling towards the planet. Said McGreevy: "We will be able to re-create the surface of Venus in virtual reality and explore it almost as you would your office."

McGreevy said that the technology may be used on a manned mission to Mars that NASA hopes to undertake by the year 2019. He said that after landing on Mars, astronauts could send an unmanned rover out from the spacecraft to explore the surface for miles around. With virtual-reality images of the Martian surface, produced on the basis of previously collected data, astronauts could see in advance what kind of terrain the rover would be crossing and guide it around any hazards. The rovers would also be equipped with video cameras, which would complement the virtual-reality images.



BAYNE STANLEY

Gibson: futuristic society

But before virtual reality can be used on an everyday basis, scientists say that they will have to greatly improve the technology for creating computer-generated imagery. Brooks described the images of human organs generated at the University of North Carolina as "pretty crude, Saturday-morning cartoon quality." Stephen Hines, research director at a Los Angeles company called 3-D Image-Tek Corp., added that even the best color images currently lack detail or any shading.

According to Hines, time delays that occur when using the existing technology are another problem. His firm's virtual-reality headgear is equipped with a sensor that informs the computer of the location and position of the user. If he were to take three steps forward, the computer would have to produce new images to show how a building or human organ might look from his new position. But so far, computers cannot produce color images fast enough to keep up with human movements. As a result, the viewer sees a jerky or choppy movement in virtual reality, said Hines.

According to Gehring, who is working with American military and civilian scientists, the U.S. air force has developed the most sophisticated virtual-reality equipment to date in an attempt to reduce the clutter and complexity of the cockpits in modern fighter aircraft. The instrument panels in jet fighters, said Gehring, "look like a Swiss clock shop gone berserk. There are typically as many as 200 displays and switches." Since 1982, the air force has been trying to develop a system that would allow a pilot to fly highly complex aircraft on the basis of an artificial reality presented to him through his headgear. Rather than dealing with a confusing instrument panel, the pilot would be immersed in computer-generated images of the landscape beneath him and computer symbols projected into his field of vision. The headgear would also contain 3-D sound so that the pilot could determine with greater speed and precision the position of other planes in his squadron or incoming enemy missiles. But Gehring said that the development of such a system would not be complete until the mid-1990s at the earliest.

Although virtual reality is in the development stages, a California company named VPL Research Inc. has already begun selling headgear called an "eyephone" and a lightweight, sensor-equipped glove that would allow a user to experience the sensation of picking up and moving objects that appear in a virtual-reality environment. David Benman, VPL's sales-support engineer, said that the eyephone, which also resembles a scuba mask, sells for $11,200, while the glove costs $10,500. A complete package, which includes the eyephone, glove and two computers manufactured by Silicon Graphics Computer Systems of Newport Beach, Calif., costs about $267,000. Benman said that VPL has sold its eyephone and glove to most of the U.S. research institutes and universities that are currently conducting virtual-reality research. Its most prized customer has been NASA. Benman conceded that VPL's equipment is so far capable of producing only grainy images that lack detail. But he said that virtual reality is a captivating concept. Said Benman: "You get immersed in it even if the image quality isn't there yet."

Indeed, most of the scientists working on the new technology say that they have merely crossed the frontier of an exciting new concept. But Jacobson predicts that virtual-reality products will be available to such commercial users as architects and engineers within five years, while mass-market consumer entertainment products will be available within a decade. But given the rate at which previous computer revolutions have occurred, virtual reality could become a commonplace technology much sooner than that.

D'ARCY JENISH *with* **ALAN EARLE** *in Vancouver*

Verdict on the past

A war-crimes trial ends with an acquittal

As the acquittal in Canada's first war crimes trial flashed around the world, reactions ranged from relief to stunned disbelief. A jury of eight women and four men deliberated for a little more than 12 hours last week before declaring 77-year-old Imre Finta not guilty of manslaughter and other crimes against thousands of Jews in Nazi-occupied Hungary during the Second World War. After the jury delivered its verdict in a Toronto courtroom before Mr. Justice Archie Campbell, Finta smiled broadly, then broke into tears, sobbing that "nobody believes Finta a Nazi." But in Vienna, Simon Wiesenthal—who has relentlessly pursued war criminals for 45 years and first informed Canadian authorities of Finta's location—appeared to be shocked by the verdict. Said Wiesenthal: "I can't believe it." In Canada, Jewish organizations urged Ottawa to appeal the case. Said Helen Smolack, chairman of the Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association, of the verdict: "It makes us lose faith in the justice system of Canada."

The six-month trial was closely watched as a test of Canada's war-crimes legislation. Finta, who served as a member of an elite Hungarian police force from 1935 to 1944, was the first person to be charged under the 1987 law permitting the prosecution of Canadians for war crimes committed in other countries before they became citizens of Canada. Finta emigrated to Canada in 1951 and worked as a cook in Toronto, where he later owned and operated restaurants. In 1987 Finta was charged with eight offences, including the confinement, robbery and kidnapping of 8,617 Jews in the Hungarian village of Sveged in June, 1944. During the trial, prosecution lawyers presented testimony from 43 witnesses, including videotaped interviews with witnesses in Hungary and Israel.



TIMOTHY FINAN

Finta: smiling and sobbing, 'nobody believes Finta a Nazi'

Many of the witnesses were elderly survivors of Nazi concentration camps who gave emotionally charged accounts of their treatment. At least three witnesses pointed to Finta in the courtroom and testified that he was the same man who was present during the loading of Jews into crowded boxcars designed to carry cattle, at an abandoned brickyard. Witnesses said that the Jews were then transported to Nazi concentration camps, where many of them died. Margit Hahn, a 73-year-old Hungarian survivor of the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz, told the court that as a teenager she had once dated Finta, but that the relationship ended after several months. Years later, as she was being forced aboard a train headed for Auschwitz, Hahn said that she saw Finta, and that he screamed insults at her. Said Hahn: "He called me a stinking whore, a Jewish whore, all kinds of dirt."

Finta's lawyer, Douglas Christie, argued that there was no conclusive evidence that Finta was the police officer who witnesses said gave orders at the brickyard. Finta, who did not testify during the trial, acknowledged through his lawyer that he had served in the Hungarian national police and that he had been present when Jews were assembled in the brickyard. But Christie told the court that his client had merely obeyed orders and that he was only in charge of confiscating valuables, including jewelry and money, from Jewish prisoners. In his closing address, the lawyer said that Finta was relying on the "reasonable concept" that he was following valid orders by a higher authority.

As well, Christie pointed out that some witnesses had testified that a German officer was also present in the brickyard, while some prosecution documents referred to a commandant also being present. At one point, Christie compared Finta's actions to those of RCMP officers who rounded up Japanese Canadians in 1942. Christie also called Canada's war-crimes legislation "convoluted and diabolical."

Campbell cautioned jurors to carefully evaluate the evidence identifying Finta as the man in charge of the brickyard. Campbell said that 46 years had passed since the events in question took place. As well, the judge noted that innocent people have sometimes been convicted on the basis of false identifications. Campbell also said that it would be "dangerous to convict" Finta for deaths that occurred in the boxcars because there was no medical evidence of their cause. As well, the judge cautioned jurors against considering whether their verdict would send a message to Canadians, or to people in other countries.

Following the verdict, retired Quebec judge Jules Deschênes, who led a royal commission into the question of alleged war criminals living in Canada, said of Finta: "They charged him. He was acquitted. Justice was served." But angry reaction by Jewish leaders included calls for the federal government to continue the pursuit of war criminals now living in Canada. Currently, two other men are awaiting trial. Stephen Reistetter, 75, of St. Catharines, Ont., is charged with kidnapping and unlawfully transporting 3,000 Jews from Czechoslovakia during the Second World War Nazi occupation of that country. Michael Pawlowski, 72, of Renfrew, Ont., faces charges that he murdered 490 people in the Soviet Union in 1942. For his part, Crown prosecutor Christopher Amerasinghe said that he would review Judge Campbell's address to the jury to determine whether the verdict in the Finta case should be appealed.

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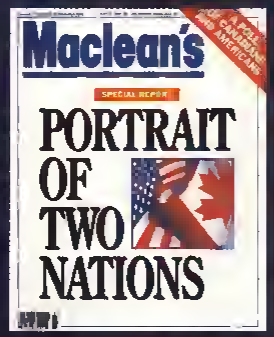
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Next stop the Sahara Desert

BY TRENT FRAYNE

There is nothing wrong with the Olympic Games that taking them to the Sahara Desert wouldn't cure. This would make it tricky for the sailors and rowers, true enough, but better them than us, I say. No doubt about it, Toronto doesn't need the aggravation. The trouble with the Olympics is that they aren't the Olympics anymore. When French scholar and educator Pierre de Coubertin revived the ancient pastime of fun and games in 1896, he had a couple of thoughts about them. "The important thing is not to win but to take part," was one. Another was, "The essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well."

Those ideals may thump in the breast of many an eager young athlete nowadays but, unhappily, television has been an unwitting instrument of destruction for de Coubertin's shining idealism. Now, too many people make terrifying statements to worldwide audiences attracted by the televised Olympics. The Games are now so big that NBC has paid a record $480 million to win American rights alone to the 1992 Summer Games in Barcelona. The previous high mark belonged to practically snowless Calgary two years ago when ABC paid $370 million for the rights to take pictures of the Winter Olympics.

The day the Olympics stopped being what de Coubertin had in mind was a predawn morning early in September of 1972 when Palestinian guerrillas invaded the Olympic Village in Munich and shot their way into the Israeli quarters, killing as they went. It was then that the harmless quadrennial muscle clambakes shed their image of glowing faces. What they became was a stage for earthshaking statements by terrorists, visible around the globe on the evening news.

To counter such extremism, host countries have taken to engaging whole armies of security forces to suffocate the terrorists before they can make it to the side of the Peter Mansbridges and Lloyd Robertsons of the world. At the most recent Games in Seoul, Olympic officials were mightily relieved that anticipated insurrection did not materialize. Well, how could it? According to a pre-Games report in *The New York Times*, South Korea's armed forces of 620,000 and its national police force of 120,000 were to be placed on full alert to protect the 34,000-odd athletes, officials, journalists and technicians. More than 30,000 specially hired security guards would be posted at the 34 competition sites and at dozens of training areas, hotels and other potential targets.

Ever since Munich, the Olympics have come to have an irresistible attraction as forums for ideological, social or racial expression

In addition, U.S. officials said that the 40,000 American soldiers stationed in South Korea would be on alert, one and possibly two aircraft carriers would cruise off the South Korean coast, each having six to 10 escort vessels, and there would be an increase in surveillance by reconnaissance aircraft and intelligence satellites. Marine battalions based on Okinawa were to be made available.

Also—yes, there's an also—by official count, 117,000 gadgets, including TV cameras, metal detectors and X-ray machines able to detect plastic explosives, were to be in use. Police dogs were also trained to sniff out explosives.

This sort of thing is what is required nowadays to combat possible uprisings. The fact is, sports fans, that ever since Munich, the sweaty carnivals have come to have an irresistible attraction as forums for ideological, social or racial expression. Accordingly, Toronto, one of six cities caterwauling for the 1996 Games, would be required to present security of approximately this dimension to control possible explosions by guys with evil intentions.

There was a tiny illustration of things to come when the baseball season opened in Toronto last month. The head men of two governments, Brian Mulroney and George Bush, were there briefly, picking up a ball and a glove for the benefit of approximately 9,000 cameramen. It was next thing to a non-event, but the security was breathtaking.

Your agent happened to arrive at the stadium when all gates were closed and guarded while sniffing dogs scoured the SkyDome interior. When the doors were unlocked, security men stood at elevator entrances and, in the corridor leading to the third-level press box, more guards with metal detectors frisked pedestrians and sent them through those electrified archways featured at airports.

Sharpshooters who accompanied the President to Toronto were positioned throughout the stadium, including one who had stationed himself between a pair of Canadian and Ontario flags high above the scoreboard. Snipers were stationed just under the closed retractable roof behind banks of television lights that ring the ball park. Here we had a half-hour or so with one foreign dignitary, the prospect of 2½ weeks of protection for scores of them blurs the senses.

The truth is that the Olympics have grown too big for their own good. What ought to be happening is that the current structure of these mammoth, all-purpose Games be substituted by separate world championships in swimming, track and field, boxing, field hockey and so forth, relatively small events in a variety of cities conducted in a less hysterical climate. Such diversification would have the added advantage of reducing the inevitable traffic snarls that already approach gridlock conditions in almost every downtown street and other traffic artery in Toronto.

On top of that, staging the 1996 Olympics in any city *except* Toronto would eliminate the problem of what to do when the Games end with at least three indispensable Olympic structures costing at least $200 million—the main stadium, the velodrome for bike riders and the swimming and diving hall.

It is an almost hilarious truth that the $600-million SkyDome that opened less than a year ago cannot be used for track events or as a soccer pitch. Olympic rules stipulate that the playing field for soccer must be surfaced in natural grass, which the retractable roof of the SkyDome prohibits and the SkyDome's floor dimensions cannot accommodate the mandatory 400-m track for Olympic foot races.

So what will happen to a 35,000-capacity, open stadium when the athletes go home is that it becomes as redundant as the bicycle palace and a glitzy new swimming hole. Could the Sahara use a domed oasis?

My Maria died.

A TRUE STORY



When I arrived in the Philippines so many years ago, one of the first things I did was to fall in love. She had fine black hair and she used to wear a bright orange dress. She had big, big eyes that would always listen to me, and when she smiled, oh how she would smile! She lived in one of those tropical huts on the shore, the ones you see in postcards, and when she would see me coming, she would run to me as fast as her legs could carry her. My Maria was only two years old.

One day, I was caught in one of those sudden tropical cloudbursts and I ended up with a bad cold. Being one of only two foreigners on the whole island, I was fussed into the provincial hospital with nurses to watch over me by day, and "watchers" for while the nurses were off-duty, and all the care and thoughtfulness that only the Filipinos can lavish on you. After a week in the hospital, my cold went away (if I had stayed home, it would have taken seven days), and I went down to find my lovely Maria.

But my Maria had died.

She too had been caught in the same downpour. She too caught a cold. But when she was lying on her mat in the corner, the wind blew through the bamboo walls and the bamboo floor of the postcard tropical hut, and she caught bronchitis or pneumonia or something terrible, and there was no money for medicines or the doctor and she wasn't strong enough to fight it. So while I rested in my hospital bed, my Maria was buried in her tropical island.

That was fifteen years ago.

Today, I met another two year old who stole my heart, Marissa. I met her in the malnutrition ward of the provincial hospital where she and her mother had been brought. You see, Foster Parents Plan weighs all the little children in our partner families to make sure they're growing properly, and Marissa was not. She was slowly starving because her father couldn't earn enough as a market porter to support his wife and children. Marissa developed a fever, and Gene the community worker had her admitted into the hospital at once. (Luck that Gene found her in time, before she died? Not really, Foster Parents Plan keeps a tab on over 15,000 little children every month of every year!).

I went to see her and to see how PLAN was helping. The dextrose was fine, but just the beginning. Marissa's mother had been to the Mother's Nutrition Class we ran last month. We couldn't find work for Marissa's father, but we are teaching him how to raise goats so that Marissa and her brothers and sisters can get a glass each of fresh, clean, body-building, life-saving milk every day, and so that her father can earn a little more money with his new skill. And there's the toilet Foster Parents Plan's helping them put in next month, and the fresh water project in their village by the end of the year, and a few other things as well.

So, when I came home tonight, I couldn't help thinking about Maria and Marissa. The differences between them aren't all that big. It's just that PLAN has been able to catch one more little girl before she slipped through our fingers and was wasted forever. And, of course, we couldn't be over here if people like you weren't over there.

So, if anyone ever tells you that helping through PLAN doesn't matter too much, you can do something for me. Just tell them that what you are about to do is making all the difference in the world. All the difference between Maria and Marissa. Help us prove that point today — become a Foster Parent. You just might fall in love with your own Marissa.

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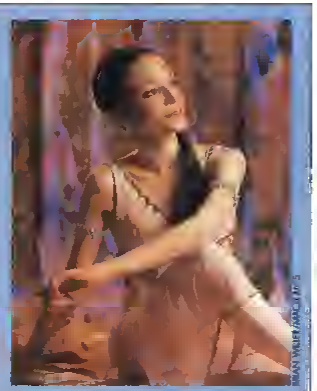
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A WIDOW TALKS BACK

Following the drug-related death of comedian John Belushi in 1982, his wife, Judy, now 39, experienced numerous setbacks. In her just-released memoirs, *Samurai Widow*, she writes that two of her husband's close friends, actors Robert De Niro and Robin Williams, who were with him on his last day, never offered condolences. Belushi adds that she wrote the book because media reports exaggerated her husband's erratic lifestyle, although she acknowledges that he was "explosive, a complicated person." Says Belushi: "I just wanted to give a fair portrait."

Debut dancing



Hart: no Russian butterflies

She is known among her fellow dancers as Little Miss Leningrad, because her stage technique is based on the classic traditions of Russian ballet teaching. But 34-year-old Royal Winnipeg Ballet principal dancer **Evelyn Hart**, who gives her first performance at Leningrad's prestigious Kirov Theatre with the Manitoba company this week, says that she is trying to stay calm about approaching the stage made famous by such Russian dancers as **Rudolf Nureyev** and **Mikhail Baryshnikov.** Currently on a nine-city, six-week European tour, Hart and the Royal Winnipeg will be the first Western ballet troupe to dance on the historic stage. Still, Hart, who received most of her dance training at the company's ballet school in Winnipeg, maintains that she has no time for butterflies. Says Hart of the Kirov audience: "They will either like it or they won't—and there's not much I can do to help by worrying about it."



Maples: coming off without a hitch

A JEANS SUIT

Her jeans-company endorsement last week came off without a hitch, but actress Marla Maples was tripped up later—by a subpoena. Romantically linked to billionaire Donald Trump, 43, Maples appeared on behalf of No Excuses jeans, the same line once backed by model Donna Rice, whose friendship with Gary Hart derailed his 1988 presidential bid. Later, Maples, 26, was served with legal papers in connection with a financial settlement lawsuit launched by Trump's estranged wife, Ivana. Maples wears her jeans tight, but Ivana's patience is clearly wearing thin.

SPANISH PLEASER

He has his own brand of perfume, he is regularly swamped by adoring female fans and his albums have sold more than 150 million copies, but Spanish singer **Julio Iglesias** says that he is still a simple balladeer—just a former soccer player who began plucking a guitar in 1962 while recuperating from a near-fatal car crash in Spain. Last week, Iglesias, 46, was in Toronto for five performances as part of an international tour leading up to the September release of his next still-untitled album. It will be entirely in English, featuring such classics as Nat King Cole's *Mona Lisa* and The Beatles' *And I Love Her*. Although Iglesias finds time to help the United Nations' efforts on behalf of children's welfare, such as taking part in a benefit concert this week in New York City with **John Denver** and **Olivia Newton-John**, he says that his main concern remains pleasing people with his music. "I'm happy to be taking care of my audience," he said. "I love it when people like me. Otherwise, I would just be singing in the shower."



Springsteen: an offer to not refuse

Elvis lives for the Boss

British music producer Roy Carr made Bruce Springsteen an offer he could not refuse—a chance to sing one of his favorite Elvis Presley songs. A longtime Presley fan, Springsteen, 40, sings the 1964 classic* Viva Las Vegas *on the just-released* The Last Temptation of Elvis, *sales of which have raised more than $680,000 for a London children's charity. Said Carr, an editor with the weekly* New Musical Express: *"It's amazing the response you get for a good cause."



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BOOKS

Women on the verge

Short stories explore the feminine mystique

Canadians, it seems, do it as well as anyone. They are famous for it abroad, while at home they have turned it into a small but flourishing growth industry. Short-story writing does not usually earn a lot of glory or money but, over the past couple of decades, it has become a widely recognized Canadian specialty. Alice Munro's tales of southern Ontario are celebrated in the United States and Europe, as well as in Canada, and she has become the most illustrious of a group of internationally respected short-fiction writers that includes Mavis Gallant, Margaret Atwood, Timothy Findley and others. Publishers, too, have played a major role in the mini-boom, issuing attractively packaged soft-cover editions of works by both new and established authors. Cynthia Good, editor-in-chief of Penguin Canada, says that her company started its ambitious short-fiction series in 1984 "because it seemed obvious Canadians have a special talent and a tremendous affinity for the short-story form. It became obvious, too, that we should exploit the sales potential and celebrate the talent." This spring, two Maritimers have added new books to the swelling crop of short-story collections.

Joan Clark of St. John's, Nfld., author of the acclaimed 1988 novel *The Victory of Geraldine Gull*, has just published *Swimming Toward the Light* (Macmillan, 235 pages, $16.95), a series of linked tales about one woman's progress from girlhood to middle age. And Annapolis Royal, N.S.-based writer Janice Kulyk Keefer, a Governor General's Award nominee and past winner of two CBC Radio literary competitions, has written *Travelling Ladies* (Random House, 299 pages, $24.95), a dozen stories about women struggling to fulfil themselves in settings as diverse as suburban Toronto and southern France.

Keefer's is easily the better book. Although a few of her stories are weak, most have the combined subtlety, range and emotional power to make *Travelling Ladies* one of the most enjoyable collections in recent years. A few of her stories infuse new life into a well-worn theme: a young female's coming-of-age. In "The Grandes Platières," the teenage Katie Kovacs accompanies her family on a holiday in the French Alps. There, she makes friends with another Canadian girl, Vic Carscallen.

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Preferred Hotels

Katie, locked in a plump body that she despises, envies her desperately. Beautiful people, she says, "were born having already finished what everyone else spent their whole lives trying to begin." They were "perfect and powerful." But Katie cannot see that Vic is a deeply unhappy individual, frozen out emotionally by both parents. Keefer draws out the complexities of the the girls' relationship with consummate skill. When Vic's mother praises Katie (and simultaneously demeans her own daughter), Vic's outrage expresses itself with the cold indirectness she has learned from her parents: she leads Katie on a dangerous hike high in the mountains. Fundamentally, "The Grandes Platières" is about child abuse: the invisible kind that violates a child's heart.

"The Amores" also focuses on the problems of growing up. Agnes Sereny, a quiet, unexceptional Toronto teenager, has one unusual gift: she is a talented Latin student. That endears her to her teacher, Julia Vance, who conspires to save Agnes from her working-class background. But Julia's attempts to help Agnes go to university (and, in effect, mould the girl in her own image) come dramatically unstuck. One day, Agnes finds a copy of *The Amores* by the Roman poet Ovid. The erotic poems ignite Agnes's slumbering sexuality and effectively put an end to the teacher's tidy plans.

Julia is a type of woman common in Keefer's stories. Solitary, wilful, stiffly correct: they are what used to be called "old maids." Most are less real people than symbols of a reactive, life-smothering conservatism. And at least one is not a woman at all. Felix, in "The Gardens of the Loire," is the classic older husband, a controlling fusspot who tells his much younger wife, Teresa, what she must wear on her honeymoon. Their battle, set in lovely rural France, has the atmosphere of an intelligent film romance by some renowned European director.

Other stories treat women much more realistically, placing them in a familiar landscape of contemporary problems. In "Isola Bella," three women friends, Nibs, Collie and Jetta, celebrate Collie's recent divorce by renting a house in the south of France. Keefer draws a wonderful contrast between their hearty, apparently no-holds-barred camaraderie and their actual secretiveness. When Jetta, an artist, asks Nibs to pose in the nude, Nibs refuses. Jetta assumes that Nibs is simply prudish, she does not know that Nibs has had a mastectomy and wears a false breast. Brash and outgoing, Collie and Jetta both pick up men in the local town. But it is Nibs, finally, who is the vehicle for the story's moving affirmation of the beauty and fragility of life.

Nibs, the cancer victim, loves life while Alison, the protagonist of "Accidents"—a successful, happily married academic—retreats into depression. But Keefer, an astute psychologist, knows that suffering rarely bears an exact relationship to external circumstances. When Alison and her daughter, Jill, survive a serious car accident, Alison is appalled to discover that she is powerless to stop the workings of fate. Then, she can no longer comfort

Alex,
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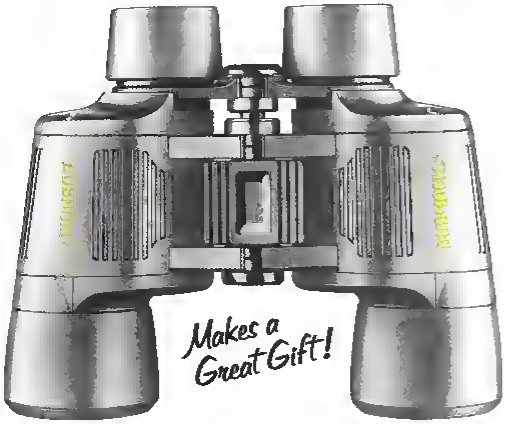
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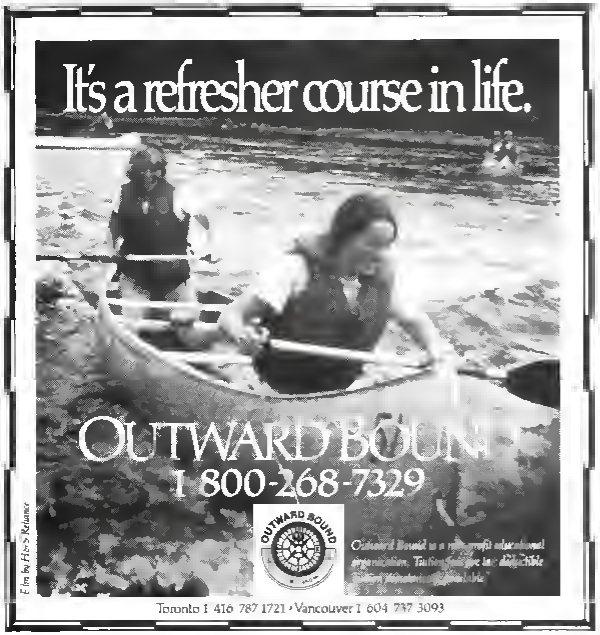
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Jill (or herself) with the old reassurance that "you're safe and sound forever."

Her husband Douglas, tries to cheer her up by arranging a sabbatical year in France, but Alison ices over, the prisoner of her own terror. Writes Keefer: "When her husband made love to her she lay still, sealed, her real self growing more and more inward, as layers of blank, dead skin cocooned themselves around her."

Most of the tales in *Travelling Ladies* reveal Keefer as a superb craftsman whose stitches are nearly always invisible. On the surface, "Prodigals" seems to be a straightforward reminiscence by a young woman fondly recalling her grandparents. But a simple phrase in the last sentence suddenly makes the story incandescent with new meaning. Keefer also displays droll humor, especially in those tales featuring her emotionally corseted old maids.

Two of her best stories, "The Dark" and "Going over the Bars," have an intimate, prayerlike seriousness. In "The Dark," a woman describes her trip to another city to visit the apartment of an acquaintance who has been assaulted and killed. And in "Going over the Bars," the narrator chronicles a woman's slow death by cancer. Both stories are deeply affecting.

Joan Clark's *Swimming Toward the Light* ambitiously makes a Canadian everywoman of its heroine, Madge Murray. The book opens with "Luna Moths," a tale set during the Second World War. In it, Madge is a small girl digging clams with her father, Laddie, on the tidal flats near their Nova Scotia home. Several stories and four decades later, she is a divorced middle-aged sculptor living in British Columbia with her lover, Stan, a computer expert turned carpenter. In between, she is just about everything imaginable: rebellious teenager, nursing young mother with four children, amateur historian of her family's past.

Clark uses the book's wide scope to create perspectives on both the resilience and pathos of life. Madge is a survivor, but mortality overshadows her as it does her father. Once a strong, humorous man with infinite energy, Laddie degenerates, by the end of the book, into an Alzheimer's victim living out a second childhood in a Nova Scotia old-age home.

Clark has a deft touch, too, with the nuances of young love. In "Rustic Toil," she re-creates the atmosphere of a double date when Madge and her friend Nonie go out with two boys. The girls do not talk to each other, Clark writes, because "romance wasn't possible if they stuck together. They had to distance themselves from each other, to make room for it."

Yet *Swimming Toward the Light* is ultimately a disappointment. Most of it reads like a hurried early draft, into which neither drama nor strong feeling has been infused. To turn to it after *Travelling Ladies* is like stepping down into the minor leagues. When it comes to the writing of short fiction, only a few can make their stories sing.

JOHN BEMROSE





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Independent aging

Experts are studying problems of the elderly

At 75, Marguerite Chown suffers from arthritis. Still, the Winnipeg woman manages to do her own shopping with the help of a walker that is equipped with a basket for her groceries and a seat that she can rest on while she waits at the check-out counter. Chown says that the $475 walker is just one of the pieces of equipment that enables her to live independently in her own house. Said the widow: "They say we need more nursing homes. But people can continue to function alone with the help of special gadgets, and that's a lot cheaper than having them move into government-funded homes." That area of concern is one of those covered by a new federally sponsored research project into the impact of higher age levels on Canada's population.

Among the industrialized nations of the world, Canada has one of the highest rates of people over 65 living in institutions—eight per cent, compared with four per cent in the United States. Some experts predict that, by the year 2030, one Canadian in four will be over 65, and that the greying of the population will have a major impact on the country's productivity. The $5-million, five-year project, titled Promoting Independence and Productivity in an Aging Society, will be carried out primarily by three universities and two private firms.

Researchers at the University of Guelph, in Ontario, in collaboration with the Mississauga, Ont.-based Corporate Health Consultants (which provides employee counselling on behalf of its corporate clients), plan to examine the impact of caring for the elderly on worker absenteeism, job satisfaction and performance. Meanwhile, a research team at the University of Toronto will examine ways in which increasing age affects such brain functions as memory and learning. The team will also look into ways of adapting workplaces to the needs of an older workforce. Said Victor Marshall, director of the Productivity project: "Severe perceptual changes occur with aging. There will be more need than ever to retrain older workers."



GERARD KAMINSKI

Chown: gadgets that help

Researchers at the University of Manitoba, together with the Winnipeg-based, government-backed Aging and Rehabilitation Product Development Centre, plan to develop products aimed at helping older people to live independently. Those products could include personal alarm systems that alert a central office, such as a hospital, that the wearer is in difficulty, and clothing without buttons or back zippers. Gerontology experts say that the project, which the federal government announced on April 9, could play an important role in helping the Canadian economy to remain competitive internationally. Said Neena Chappell, director of the University of Manitoba's Centre on Aging: "When the baby boom generation reaches old age, our plan is to give Canada the edge."

ANNA PRODANOU *with* MAUREEN BROSNAHAN *in Winnipeg*

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Revolutionary sounds

China's rock stars are outlets for dissent

The voice and the words recall a protest song from the Sixties—except that the slim, gravelly voiced singer is Chinese. Cui Jian, 28, is one of the most popular performers in a burgeoning world of rock singers whose lyrics are practically the only avenue of dissent in a repressive country. "I want to leave . . . I want to die and start all over again," he sang to 10,000 fans in Beijing's Workers' Gymnasium, the first concert in a 10-city tour that was abruptly cancelled in early May. His most famous song, *Man Who Has Nothing*, has become an anthem for many young Chinese since the bloody quelling of the pro-democracy uprising in Beijing's Tiananmen Square last June 4. Though Cui did not participate in those demonstrations, he sings of the feelings of frustration and alienation that led to the Tiananmen events. Said one Beijing woman, a 24 year-old government secretary: "He is a rebel, and that is unusual in China. When we go to his concerts, he can drive out some of the anger in our hearts."

But Cui, and other rock groups, are walking a razor's edge. There are signs that authorities are turning against rock performers as part of an official campaign against "bourgeois liberalism"—code words for Western culture—which the government launched in the wake of last June's demonstrations. In a surprising development, government authorities, who earlier had banned Cui from appearing onstage, decided last December to sponsor his tour, which began in January.

The tour was to serve as a fund raiser for this fall's Asian Games in Beijing, but the government also clearly hoped that its sponsorship of Cui's performances would help win back plummeting support for the Communist party. But then the authorities abruptly called off the singer's tour in early May. That latest about-face on Cui, perhaps the result of fears that the audience reaction could ignite another pro-democracy outpouring, came after just three performances in the southwestern city of Chengdu. Young men and women in the crowds went wild, waving their fists in the air and making the "V-for-victory" sign that became the symbol of Tiananmen.

Observers say that Chinese authorities had underestimated the rallying power of rock music. Said a lesser-known rock musician—who asked not to be named for fear of reprisal: "Chinese leaders have no experience with our kind of music. They don't listen to the words and they don't understand how powerful they are." Officially, the tour is only postponed, but, as one fan explained, "That means cancelled."

Cui, who has made no public statement on the fate of his tour, is the most popular act in a vibrant rock scene in China's capital city. Many factories and colleges have their own bands, and noninstitutional ones are constantly forming. Most take their cue from Western music rather than the sugary-sweet melodies and lyrics that until now have been a hallmark of contemporary Chinese music. One group, 1989, performs reggae numbers heavily derivative of the British group UB40. A three-member female group, the All Girl Band, performs some numbers in English, including the Rolling Stones song *I Can't Get No Satisfaction*. Even heavy metal has filtered into the music scene with musicians performing Chinese versions of Led Zeppelin and Deep Purple numbers.

Those groups have been allowed to perform relatively freely, appearing at ramshackle clubs around Beijing with such names as the Song and Dance Club or the New World Bar. Occasionally, they play in more up-market night spots—Pierre Cardin's Maxim's de Paris or the Cosmos Club at the Great Wall Sheraton Hotel—which are patronized mainly by foreigners and children of the elite who can afford the hefty prices.



JEAN PAUL SIA

Cui: an abrupt cancellation of a wildly popular tour

Cui himself appeared frequently in the small clubs, even when he was banned from performing onstage. The singer attended other rock bands' concerts and, late in the evening, he would sing from the floor. But some of Cui's fans now say they fear that he may suffer the same fate as Hou Dejan. A rock star who defected from Taiwan to China six years ago, the 33-year-old Hou enjoyed the support of the Chinese leadership. Recognizing his propaganda potential, they provided him with two homes, a maroon Mercedes-Benz and limitless official publicity. But, last year, Hou wrote lyrics for songs at the Tiananmen protest. His protests were short-lived. After the June 4 massacre, in which hundreds, perhaps even thousands, according to some Western estimates, of pro-democracy demonstrators died, he appeared on Chinese TV stating that he had witnessed no deaths in Tiananmen Square.

Now, he lives under virtual house arrest in Beijing. He is not allowed to perform or record his songs, although he reportedly still writes. One of Hou's earlier ballads contains the lyrics "Friends who love freedom, spread our wings. Listen carefully. No one can lie again. Open your eyes, no one can twist the truth again." Those words must be echoing in the minds of Cui—and his devoted Chinese fans.

LOUISE BRANSON in *Beijing*

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FICTION

1 **Friend of My Youth,** *Munro (1)*
2 **Titmuss Regained,** *Mortimer (3)*
3 **September,** *Pilcher (2)*
4 **Skinny Legs and All,** *Robbins (5)*
5 **The Stand,** *King (4)*
6 **The Evening News,** *Hailey (6)*
7 **Quincunx,** *Pallister*
8 **Golden Fox,** *Smith (7)*
9 **An Inconvenient Woman,** *Dunne (8)*
10 **Les of Silence,** *Moore*

NONFICTION

1 **Barbarians at the Gate,** *Burrough and Helyar (4)*
2 **Megatrends 2000,** *Naisbitt and Aburdene (5)*
3 **A Coat of Many Colours,** *Abella (3)*
4 **Washington Rollercoaster,** *Gotlieb (8)*
5 **Towards a Just Society,** *edited by Axworthy and Trudeau (1)*
6 **Parting with Illusions,** *Pozner (2)*
7 **Means of Ascent,** *Caro*
8 **The Trouble with Canada,** *Gardiner (6)*
9 **Continental Divide,** *Lipset*
10 **Links,** *Rubenstein*

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Compiled by Brian Bethune

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More a stage play than a country

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

To those who feel, the wise man said, the world is a tragedy; to those who think, a comedy. When they write the history books, our current domestic situation will appear as farce. Foreign journalists are congregating in Ottawa, open-mouthed in awe at what seems to them as one of those old-fashioned drawing-room stage clichés—bedroom dalliances with donrs slammed as the flirting couples encounter the wrong companion in the corridor.

It is Canada as Kafka. The abiding image that remains is René Lévesque, aloft on his harp, puffing on his many cancer sticks, lonking down with great amusement on the circus. Here is Lucien Bouchard, the brooding romantic who could play the baddy in a B-grade movie, stabbing his close buddy Brian Mulroney not in the back but in the front. Here is Clyde of The Rock, a face as pristine as a baby's bottom, forcing the country into emotional civil war.

It is entirely appropriate, given our paranoia, that a province thet has been a member of Confederation for only—what is it, 41 years?—might dismember the whole shmeer. Sir John A., when off the bottle, tried to design a country where the regions would have equal power at the centre. He has had his revenge.

It is entirely predictable that the Quebec media (that cannot be bothered even stationing a correspondent in Toronto let alone Western Canada) have been replaying incessantly a three-second clip about middle-aged nuts trampling a Quebec flag in Brockville. Never mind that Brockville, in eastern Ontario, is the epitome of the rural eastern Ontario mind-set—verging on an alien territory of snails and red wine for lunch—that is as redneck as southern Alabama. Never mind that the three-second clip, featuring a few middle-aged nuts, was filmed six months ago. Never mind, this is Canada. This is Kafka, updated, live to tape.

Never mind that British California, ont on the edge of the flat earth, is still ruled by a loony tunes who once publicly sang a song featuring Lévesque as a "frog" and who emitted—out of his own large teeth—the learned wisdom after a Parti Québecois victory that he didn't think the world would end if we removed French from the other side of the Kellogg's box. He's still in power—for a reason.



In the never-forgettable, ever-repeatable phrase of Ottawa columnist Marjorie Nichols, Vander Slap performs an important function in nation-building by explaining the difficult parts of Meech Lake to Don Getty.

For entirely Canadian reasons quasi-federal Conservative MPs did not follow the lovable L Bouchard out of the Tory caucus because Labor Day might be a more propitious date. That September bench mark is rather important, since it will mark when any MP elected in 1984 will have served for six years and therefore qualify for the outrageously generous pension allowances that most of us have to wait for until 65 and then never garner. Patriotism is one thing. Pensions are another.

What goes around comes around. Quebec has never forgotten—or forgiven—the hanging of Louis Riel. And so we have Manitoba, blamed for it all, in disguised anarchy at this moment of our turmoil. The supposed premier, Gary Filmon, in a minority position, in fact is run not by his cabinet and not by his principles but by the dulcet-voiced Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs and the shifty, adjustable-policies NDP opportunist, Gary Doer.

We have, aborning, a sudden nostalgia for leaders who in retrospect look larger. Pierre Trudeau, reviled in Western Canada, was once in Regina, and a small boy—reflecting his culture—flung handfuls of wheat at his back. The Prime Minister of Canada turned from the microphone and said, "You do that once more and I'm going to kick you in the ass." Canadians now wish they had someone in command who had the courage of that candor.

Names such as Lesage and Robarts now emerge as calm, contemplative figures. Even Joey Smallwood comes across as a shrewd player, television forever remembering his assessment of yet another First Ministers' consensus. "It's as clear as mud." Now we have David Peterson, as the nervous Kissinger, not quite knowing what to do with the enormous power of his province.

There is Bourassa, the accountant masquerading as premier, edging so palpably every day in every way in his nationalist *lambada* to outflank the fleshy Parizeau, who dresses like a Bay Street banker and speaks in the tones of an Oxford professor. The PQ leader, suddenly, feels the hot breath on his neck of L. Bouchard, who wants to move out of the B-grade flicks and graduate into the bigs.

Our present proprietors look like midgets, the heir-apparent Bouchard fled from the scene while appearing rather much like a Shakespearean figure whose ambition on late reveals him as a Hamlet. The country, as we know, is Hamlet *manqué* and the rest of the puzzled world views us as confused teenagers who can't work ont the Friday-night angst.

It is the genius of Canada that the country is supposedly to break up—it isn't—over a constitutional lawyer's argument that 98 per cent of the population does not even understand. The Americans, in their Civil War, at least understood why they were fighting their friends, their neighbors, even their brothers. Canadians know they are in a dispute, but they really don't know why.

This, ton, is Canada, a country in search of itself. It's not really a country. It's a stage play. Done by an amateur company. The doors slam and the adulterers dart back. Into torment. Do not worry. There is another act. We will survive. The actors enjoy the action too much.



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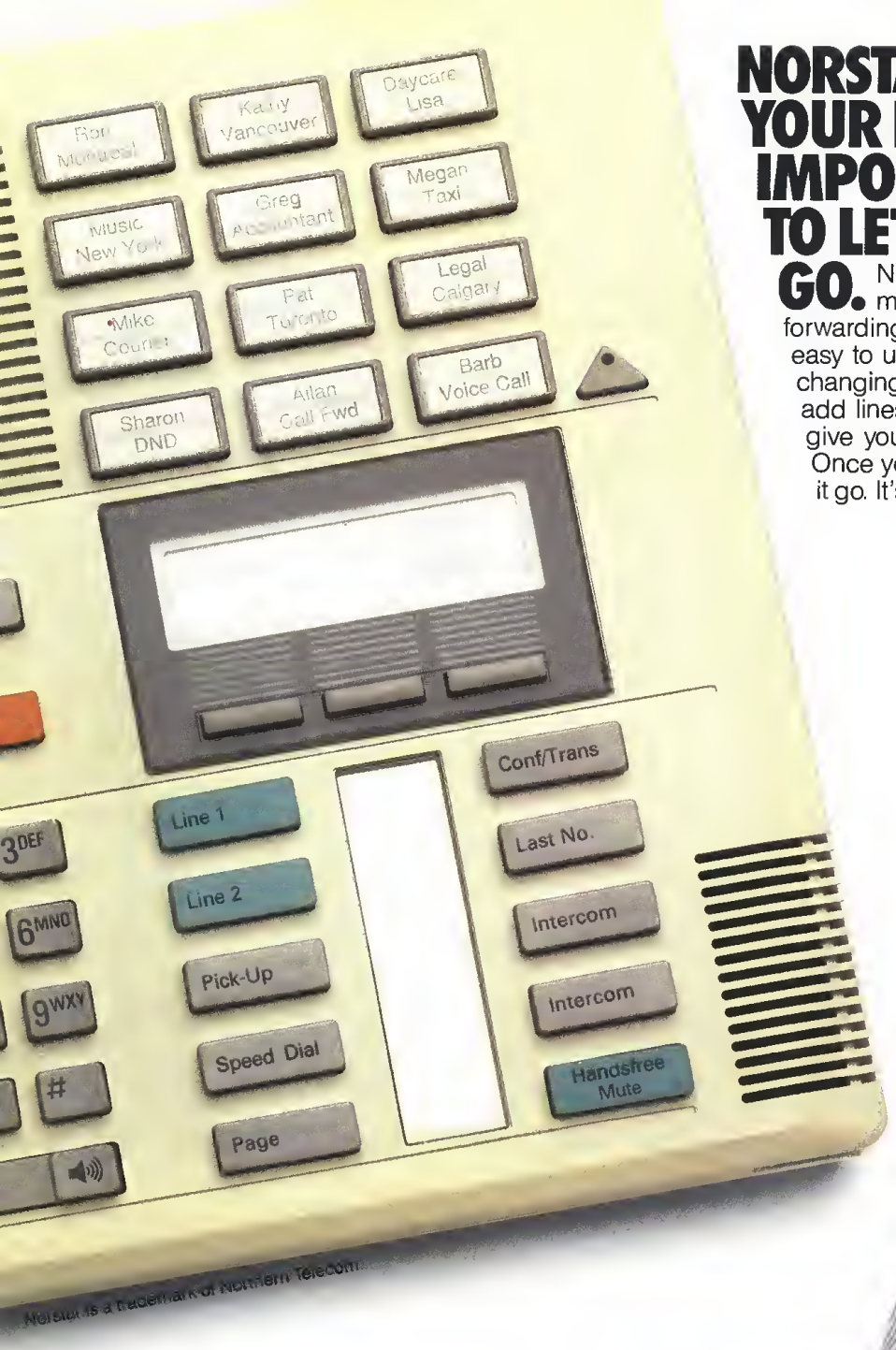


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